



PURANA

1975

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न पुनस्ते सम्पादकान् न्यासं च निबध्नन्ति

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पुराणम्—PURĀṆA

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वसन्तपञ्चम्यङ्कः

[February 16, 1975

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THE LEGEND OF TRITA IN THE VEDAS, THE MAHĀBHĀRATA AND THE PURĀṆAS A COMPARATIVE STUDY

BY

V. M. BEDEKAR

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन वेदेषु महाभारते पुराणेषु चोपलब्धस्य त्रिताख्यानस्य साङ्गोपाङ्गं तुलनात्मकं चाध्ययनं प्रस्तुतम् । अस्याख्यानस्यानुसारेण महर्षेर्गौतमस्य त्रयोः पुत्रा आसन्-एकतो द्वितस्त्रितश्चेति । एषु त्रिष्वपि बन्धुषु कनिष्ठो भ्राता त्रितो ज्ञाने यज्ञविद्यायां च ज्येष्ठयोर्द्वयोर्भ्रात्रोरपेक्षया अधिको व्युत्पन्नः आसीत् । अतः यज्ञेषु तेन अधिका दक्षिणा प्राप्यते स्म । अन्यौ द्वौ भ्रातरौ मत्सरिणौ संजातौ । एकदा त्रयो भ्रातरो दक्षिणायां प्राप्तेन गोसंघेन सह कस्मादपि यज्ञान्निवृत्ता आसन् । त्रितस्सर्वेषामग्रेसर आसीत् । मार्गे सहसा एको वृकः प्राप्तः । तस्माद्भ्रीतस्त्रितोऽपरपार्श्वस्थे कूपे पतितः । लुब्धौ ईर्ष्यान्वितौ च तस्य एकतद्वितौ अग्रजौ कूपे पतितं तं विहाय गवां संघेन सह पलायितौ । कमपि रक्षितारमपश्यमानः कूपे पतितस्त्रितस्तत्रैव मंत्रैर्देवानाजुहाव सोमपानाय । तेन तत्रैव लतावल्लीभिः सोमः समुत्पादितः । बृहस्पतेः प्रेरणया तत्र देवा आजग्मुः वरदानेन त्रितं छन्दयामासुः । एकेन वरेण त्रितः सरस्वत्याः धारया कूपाद् बहिराक्षिप्तः, अपरेण वरेण च कूपस्य तीर्थत्वमुपपादितम् । स्कन्दपुराणे प्राप्तस्याख्यानस्य अनुसारतः त्रयो भ्रातरः सौराष्ट्रदेशस्य राज्ञ आत्रेयस्य तनया आसन् । येषु कनिष्ठस्त्रितः गुणैः सर्वोत्तम आसीत् आत्रेयस्य देहावसाने त्रित एव राजा बभूव । स भ्रातृभिर्गवां च संघेन सह यज्ञार्थं प्रभासतीर्थं प्रति प्रस्थितः । मार्गे व्याघ्रभयात् कूपपतनस्य घटना घटिता । तत्र देवानामाह्वानं तु महाभारतानुसारमेव । वेदे अस्य घटनायाः संक्षेपेणोल्लेखो वर्तते । अत्रास्मिन् निबन्धे एषां सर्वेषां वर्णनानाम् विवरणं दत्त्वा तेषां साम्यवैषम्ययोरपि प्रदर्शनं कृतम् ।]

Though, from the point of chronology, it is proper to present, and deal with, the legend of Trita (T.) occurring in the Veda first, we are not doing so in this place, because the account of the legend of T. referred to in the Veda is very scrappy and may not interest the reader who is interested in knowing, for the sake of the comparative view, all the prominent features of the legend

in a connected way. From this point of view, the story as narrated in the Mahābhārata (*Mb*) is fairly detailed and would appropriately serve as an excellent basis for the comparative study of the legend. We shall, therefore, first present the legend as found in the *Mb* and then pass on to its delineation as found in the Veda. As pointed in the sequel, there is found embedded in the story of the *Mb* the oldest core of the legend of T. which is alluded to in Vedic Literature.

The legend of T. in the *Mb*¹

The legend of T. is narrated at some length in the Tirthayātrā sub-parvan of the Śalyaparvan (9.35). It is introduced in this place by way of replying to the query of king Janamejaya. Vaiśampāyana is narrating to Janamejaya that Balarāma in the itinerary of his pilgrimage visited the holy place viz. the well of Trita and felt happy at the ablutions, he had in the sacred waters of that well. Thereupon Janamejaya requests Vaiśampāyana to narrate the story of Trita. The story of Trita narrated by Vaiśampāyana is, in short, as follows:

The sage Gautama had three sons viz. Ekata, Dvita and Trita. After Gautama's death, the three sons continued to be invited to be the sacrificial priests by kings who had formerly invited their father. Among the three brothers, Trita was preeminent and superior on account of his sacrificial expertise. The two brothers became jealous of Trita and desired to have for themselves all the gains of the sacrifice, especially the herds of kine gained mainly by Trita as a fee or reward (*dakṣiṇā*) of the sacrifice. Once, the three brothers walked home with the herds of kine received as a fee at one sacrifice. Trita was in front of the all and his two brothers walked behind, counting the number of kine and conspiring to have all the herds for themselves, excluding Trita. While they were thus walking home, it was night-fall on the way and Trita who was, in front of them all unluckily found himself between a wolf on the one hand and a pit or a well on the other. Trita, afraid of the wolf, while trying to escape from the beast, retreated back and fell into the well. The well was all dry, full of stones and earth, covered in places with withering creepers and grass. Trita shouted from the bottom

1. The references are to the critical edition of the *Mb* published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

NOTE ON THE SRṢṬI-STUTI

The creative Śakti of Brahmā is here named as *Srṣṭi*. Brahmā creates the universe with the help of Goddess *Srṣṭi*. The manifestation or birth of Goddess *Srṣṭi* is narrated in the *Varāha-Purāṇa* 90.12-29: When gods were being oppressed by the Demon Andhaka, they approached Brahmā for help, who took them to God Śiva residing on the summit of the mountain Kailāsa. Being remembered by Brahmā God Viṣṇu also joined them instantly, and the three Gods gazed at each other. The three gazes of these three gods were combined into one, and from this combination of the three gazes a divine virgin girl was produced who was of three colours—black, white and yellowish or reddish. She was named *Trikalā* by the three gods who directed her to divide herself into three female forms in accordance with her three colours. The white form was the Śakti (Energy) of Brahmā, the reddish form was the Śakti of Viṣṇu and the dark form was the Śakti of Rudra. The three goddesses (Śaktis) respectively went to the Śveta mountain, the Mandara mountain and the Nila mountain for practising austerities. In fact, the three Śaktis are really the one or the three forms of the one Śakti-principle.

Brahmā creates the universe with the help of his Śakti. This Brāhmī Śakti called as *Srṣṭi* has a pleasant form and is also known as *Ekākṣarā* (i e. of one syllable or *Omkāra*), *Sarvākṣarā* (of all the syllables), *Vāgīśā* (the presiding deity of speech), Goddess *Sarasvatī*, *Vidyēśvarī* (presiding deity of all knowledge), *Amitākṣarā* (of innumerable syllables), *Jñāna-nidhi* (treasure of knowledge), and *Vibhāvarī* (the Shining one). In fact, all the gentle and pleasant epithets and those derived from knowledge belong to her:

तत्र सृष्टिः पुरा प्रोक्ता श्वेतवर्णा सुरुषिणी ।
 एकाक्षरेति विख्याता सर्वाक्षरमयी शुभा ॥
 वागीशेति समाख्याता क्वचिद् देवी सरस्वती ।
 सैव विद्येश्वरी देवी सैव क्वाप्यमिताक्षरा ॥
 सैव ज्ञाननिधिः क्वापि सैव देवी विभावरी ।
 यानि सौम्यानि नामानि यानि ज्ञानोद्भवानि च ॥
 तानि तस्या विशालाक्षि द्रष्टव्यानि वरानने ॥

—(91.2-5)

When Brahmā began to create the world without the 'help of his Śakti, Srṣṭi, the created world did not increase. Brahmā then concentrated to find out the reason, and he came to know that Srṣṭi was performing penances on the Śveta mountain. Brahmā went there and granted her the boon of becoming all-pervading (सर्वगा) at her request; there-upon Goddess Srṣṭi got herself absorbed in Brahmā, and from that time the world created by Brahmā began to increase. All that is the object of speech, whether it is sentient or non-sentient, whether it is past, present or future, is always created by Goddess Srṣṭi :—

यत् किञ्चिद् वाङ्मयं लोके जगत् स्थावरजङ्गमम् ।
तत् सर्वं स्थापितं सृष्ट्या भूतं भव्यं च सर्वदा ॥

—(90 47)

Whatever creation, sentient or non-sentient, there is in the universe, it is all pervaded by Goddess Srṣṭi who is ancient and eternal:—

एषा सृष्टिर्वरारोहे कथिता ते पुरातनी ।
तया सर्वमिदं व्याप्तं जगत् स्थावरजङ्गमम् ॥

—(91.7-8)

When with the help of Srṣṭi the world created by Brahmā began to increase Brahmā eulogised Srṣṭi :—

Victory to the Goddess who originates from the truth (or the *sattva*), who is unchangeable, all-supporting and imperishable, who is all-pervading, all producing and all-governing. (1). Thou art, O handsome Lady, omniscient and bestower of all the supernatural faculties; O Goddess, thou art the producer of success and intellect, the originating cause of all the creation and the great Supreme Being. (2). Thou art, O Goddess, the *Svāha* (belonging to the gods) and *Svadhā* (belonging to the manes); thou art the original source, thou residest in the syllable *Oṃkāra*, thou art the originating source of the Vedas, gods, demons, Yakṣas, Gandharavas, Rākṣasas, animals and vegetables. (3,4). Thou art knowledge, the presiding deity of knowledge, supernatural, the famous Ego and has supreme authority over the gods. O beautiful one, thou art Omniscient and bestower of all success. Thou art all-pervading, free from all doubts and vanquisher of all the enemies. Thou art, O Goddess, the Mistress of all the branches of knowledge. I bow to thee, O Goddess, O producer of prosperity

7. Sun-Worship in Bali—A Hypothesis.

[बालिदेशस्य सूर्यपूजाविषये काचिद् मान्यता]

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By *Dr. V.C. Srivastava, M.A., D. Phil.*;

Deptt. of Ancient Indian History, Culture and
Archaeology, University of Allahabad.

8. The Purāṇic Interpretation of the Ṛgvedic Mantra
IV. 58.3.

[ऋग्वेदस्य ४.५८.३ भन्त्रस्य पौराणिकव्याख्यानम्]

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By *Dr. Sudhakar Malaviya M.A., Ph. D.*;

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9. Activities of the All India Kashiraj Trust

[सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्]

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Supplement

Nārada Purāṇa—A Study

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By *Dr. K. Damodaran Nambiar*

ब्रह्मकृता सृष्टि-स्तुतिः

(वराहपुराणम्, वेङ्कटे० सं०, अ० ६१)

ब्रह्मोवाच—

जयस्व सत्यसंभूते ध्रुवे देवि^१ धरेऽक्षरे ।
 सर्वगे सर्वजननि सर्वभूतमहेश्वरि ॥१॥
 सर्वज्ञा^२ त्वं वरारोहे सर्वसिद्धिप्रदायिनी ।
 सिद्धिबुद्धिकरे^३ देवि प्रसूतिः परमेश्वरी^४ ॥२॥
 त्वं स्वाहा त्वं स्वधा देवि त्वमुत्पत्तिर्वरानने ।
 त्वमोङ्कारस्थिता^५ देवि वेदोत्पत्तिस्त्वमेव च ॥३॥
 देवानां दानवानां च यक्षगन्धर्वरक्षसाम् ।
 पशूनां वीरुधां चापि त्वमुत्पत्तिर्वरानने ॥४॥
 विद्याविद्येश्वरी सिद्धाप्रसिद्धाहं^६ सुरेश्वरी^७ ।
 सर्वज्ञा त्वं वरारोहे सर्वसिद्धिविधायिनी^८ ॥५॥
 सर्वगा गतसंदेहा सर्वशत्रुनिर्वहिणी ।
 सर्वविद्येश्वरी देवि नमस्ते स्वस्तिकारिणि ॥६॥
 ॥

स्वरूपा^९ विजया भद्रे^{१०} सर्वशत्रुविनाशिनी^{११} ॥७॥

—(Varāha — P., 91.9-16)

पाठभेदाः

[वराहपुराणस्यास्माभिरष्टादश कोशाः संवादिताः सन्ति । पाठभेदवतां कोशानां संख्याञ्च अग्रे कोष्ठे प्रदत्ता]

१. वरेऽक्षरे (३). वराक्षरे (४), वरे क्षमे (३).
२. सर्वज्ञे त्वं (२), सर्वगे त्वं (१), सर्वज्ञ त्वं (४).
३. °करी (१२).
४. °रि (१०).
५. वेङ्कटेश्वर संस्करणे 'ओङ्कारः स्थिता' इति पाठो वर्तते, परन्तु प्रायेण सर्वेषु कोशेषु 'ओङ्कारस्थिता' इत्येव पाठो वर्तते ।
६. वेङ्कटे० संस्करणे 'प्रसिद्धाहं' इति पाठो वर्तते । चतुर्षु कोशेष्वप्ययमेव पाठः । अत्र अहमित्यस्य अहंकार इत्यर्थो भवेत् । शेषेषु कोशेषु तु 'प्रसिद्धा त्वं' (१०) 'प्रसिद्धिस्त्वं' (३) इति च पाठः ।
७. °रि (१४).
८. —प्रदायिनी (९).
९. मुरूपा (३).
१०. भद्रा (१२).
११. °नि (५), -प्रमोहिनि (६).

of the well for help but the two brothers, Ekata and Dvita, paid no heed and went away with the herds of kine. Trita, thus left alone and deserted at the bottom of the well, afraid of imminent death thought that he would overcome death, if he would be able to produce Soma juice and offer its libations to the gods. With this thought in his mind, Trita who was a master of priest-craft, transmuted, by his power of prayer, the withering creepers into the Soma plant, the sand-stones into Soma-pressing stones and the little water into ghee. Imagining with all vividness the existence of the fire into which he would pour the Soma libations, he recited the sacred verses--the *Reah*, *Tajūmṣi* and *Sāmāni*—invoking the gods to his contemplated sacrifice. The incantations chanted by T. reached the ears of Brhaspati, the priest of the gods. Brhaspati, thereupon, urged the gods to proceed to the spot where Trita lay. Trita's invocations thus, ultimately fetched the gods to the spot of the well and Trita offered Soma libations to them all. The gods, who were pleased asked him what he wanted them to do for him. Trita asked for a boon that he should be freed from his present predicament—viz. confinement in the well and that the well should be filled with water which should in future confer on the pilgrims, who visited that spot and touched the water, the merit equal to that of one who has drunk Soma. The gods readily granted Trita the boon. Thereupon, all of a sudden, the Sarasvatī with its rushing waves flowed into the well and Trita raised up by the waves of water, came up on the edge of the well. He, then returned home and cursed his ungrateful brothers that the latter would turn into beasts of prey and that their progeny would be bears and monkeys to pay the penalty of their vile ingratitude. As the effect of the curse, Ekata and Dvita were changed into beasts of prey.

Trita is again found being referred to, though briefly, in six other passages of the *Mb* : In 12.326. 11-12 in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Śāntiparvan, Nārāyaṇa said to Nārada that the great sages Ekata, Dvita and Trita had been to his abode, with the desire to see Him but that they could not see Him.—In *Mb* 12.328.41-42, Nārāyaṇa again said to Nārada.² “The sages

2.

ऋषयः प्राहुरेवं मां त्रितकूपाभिपातितम् ।

पृथिनगर्भं त्रितं पाहीत्येकतद्वितपातितम् ॥41

ततः स ब्रह्मणः पुत्र आद्यो ऋषिवरस्त्रितः ।

उत्ततारोदपानाद्वै पृथिनगर्भानुकीर्तनात् ॥42

Mb, 12.328

invoked me to rescue Trita who had been thrown into the well by his brothers Ekata and Dvita. The great sage Trita chanted my name viz. Pṛṣnigarbha and consequently emerged out of the well.”—In *Mb* 12.323.6 the sages Ekata, Dvita and Trita are said to be present as sacrificial priests at the horse sacrifice of king Uparicara, at which Bṛhaspati was the Hotṛ.—In *Mb* 12.201.29, 13.151.35 and 13.135A (Appendix passage 18, line 26), Ekata, Dvita and Trita are referred to as residing in the Western quarter, the quarter presided over by the God Varuṇa.

These are all the references—Seven in all, in the *Mb* referring to Trita along with his brothers Ekata and Dvita.

On the background of the story presented above as occurring in the *Mb*, we shall pass on to its delineation as it occurs in the Veda:

The Legend of T. in the Veda :

The character of T. in the *Rgveda* (Rv) is obscure and opinion among Vedic scholars is divided as to whether he is really a human personage. The evidence of the references to T. in the passages of Rv. “may perhaps justify the conclusion that Trita was a god of lightning, the third or aerial form of fire, originally the middle member of the triad Agni, Vāyu or Indra, Sūrya. By a process of natural selection Indra seems to have ousted this god originally almost identical in character with himself, with the result that Trita occupies but an obscure position even in the Rv.”³

But one hymn of the Rv.—1.105—especially the Rcs 17 and 18 of that hymn refer clearly to T. as a human personage who finds himself in a distressing predicament,—lying half buried in a well, stricken with terror at having met a reddish wolf just previously. The verses⁴ describe T.’s predicament as follows :

“Trita lying buried in the well, calls (therefore) on the gods for assistance. Bṛhaspati heard that call and effected his release

3. ‘Vedic Mythology’ by A.A. Macdonell, p. 69.

4. त्रितः कूपेऽवहितो देवान् हवत ऊतये ।
तच्छुश्राव बृहस्पतिः कृष्वन्नं हूरणादुर
वित्तं मे अस्य रोदसी ॥17
अरुणो मा सकृद्वृकः पथा यन्तं ददर्श हि ।
उज्जिहीते निचाय्या तष्टैव पृष्ट्यामयी
वित्तं मे अस्य रोदसी ॥18

The translation above follows Geldner’s ‘Der Rigveda’

Rg. 1-105

and well-being. (6). Thou art, O auspicious one, of handsome form and victorious and destroyer of all the enemies.

The *Brāhmī Śakti*, has been mentioned here as 'सत्यसंभूते' (born from truth, purity or *sattva*). As the *Vaiṣṇavī Śakti* has been described as राजसी (92.1) and the *Raudrī Śakti* as तामसी (95.1) the *Brāhmī Śakti*, *Sṛṣṭi*, should be सार्विकी, and one of the collated manuscripts (व1) also reads 'सत्त्वसंभूते' for 'सत्यसंभूते'. The colour of the *Brāhmī Śakti* is mentioned as white (श्वेतवर्णा सुरुपिणी 91.2), which also leads to infer that *Sṛṣṭi* is सार्विकी. Moreover the word सत्य also means the quality of purity or goodness and connotes the sense of the सत्त्व *Guṇa* (also cf. M. W. Sanskrit-English Dictionary). We have the same reading-सत्य for सत्त्व in 70.20a ('रजसा सत्ययुक्तेन') but here the majority of the manuscripts read 'सत्त्वयुक्तेन', so the reading 'सत्यसंभूते' in the *stuti* may be taken as equal to 'सत्त्वसंभूते'.

It should be noted here that though *Brahmā*, the Creator, has been conceived as *rājasa* (cf. *Viṣṇu P.* I.2.61), his *Śakti*, *Sṛṣṭi*, is *sāttviki* just as *Viṣṇu* or *Nārāyaṇa* is conceived as *sāttvika* or pure *Sattva* (यत्सत्त्वं स हरिर्देवः *Varāha P.* 70.17a) but the *Vaiṣṇvī Śakti* is mentioned as *rājasi* (92.1), for she is of red colour ('रक्तवर्णा सुरुपिणी' 91.5). The *Varāha-Purāṇa*, however, remarks that though *Brahmā*, the Lotus-born, is of the combined nature of *sattva* and *rajas* (ये सत्त्व-रजसी सोऽपि ब्रह्मा कमलसंभवः 70.17) and though his *sṛṣṭi* or creation is produced out of *rajas* mixed with *sattva* the *rajas* predominates in the creation (रजसा सत्त्वयुक्तेन भवेत् सृष्टी रजोऽधिका 70.20). So *Sṛṣṭi*, the *Śakti* of *Brahmā*, is produced out of the *sattva* quality of *Brahmā*, and the *sṛṣṭi* or creation is produced from and partakes of mainly his *rajas* quality.

The *Brāhmī Śakti*, *Sṛṣṭi*, has been identified here with Goddess *Sarasvatī*, *Vāgīśā* or *Vidyēśvarī*-वागीशेति समाख्याता क्वचिद्देवी सरस्वती । सेव विद्येश्वरी देवी सेव वाप्यमिताक्षरा ॥ (91.3). In the *stuti* here she has been called as 'ओंकारस्थिता' and 'वेदोत्पत्ति'. As the *Vedas* reside in the *Pranava* or *Om̐kāra* ("वेदवेदान्तयोस्तथा... निष्ठाऽयोंकार उच्यते... प्रणवाद्या यतो वेदाः प्रणवे पर्यवस्थिताः" Q. in *Śabdakalpadruma* from *Yogi Yājñavalkya*), *Sarasvatī* being the source of the *Vedas* she also resides in the *Om̐kāra*. According to the *Purāṇas* *Sarasvatī* is related to *Brahmā* as his daughter (being born from his body) as well as his spouse. In both cases she is to be considered as the *Śakti* of *Brahmā*. According to the *Matsya-Purāṇa* *Sarasvatī* was the daughter of *Brahmā*, being born from his body; she is also known as *Śatar ūpa*, *Savitri*,

Gāyatrī and Brahmāṇī (Matsya-P. 3.30ff.). From her Brahmā produced Svāyambhuva Manu who is also known as Virāṭ (ibid 3.44f.) and from Virāṭ the world was produced further (cf. also Manu-Smṛti. 1.32f.) According to the Brahma-vaivarta (II.6.53) and the Devī-Bhāgavata (IX.6.53) Sarasvatī was the spouse of Brahmā. All this means that Brahmā created the universe with the help of his Śakti Brahmāṇī or Sarasvatī, who is also known as Srṣṭi in the Varāha-Purāṇa (Adhs. 90-91).

The *phala-śruti* (fruits accruing from the recitation) of this *stuti* of Srṣṭi is stated to be as follows :—

ऋतुस्नातां स्त्रियं गच्छेद् यस्त्वां स्मृत्वा (v. 1. स्तुत्वा) वरानने ॥
तस्यावश्यं भवेत् सृष्टिस्त्वत्प्रसादात् प्रजेश्वरि । (91.15-16).

“O, Mistress of the creation, whoever eulogising thee approaches his wife for intercourse after she has taken bath after her monthly courses he certainly produces his progeny. (In the *stuti*-text this *phala-śruti* also forms part of the *stuti* of Goddess Srṣṭi).

—A. S. Gupta.

out of the straits. Be mindful to me in such my situation, O Heaven and Earth.

“The ruddy wolf saw me once, as I went my way. As he looked at me, he appeared like a carpenter hunting the backbone. Be mindful to me etc. in such my situation, O Heaven and Earth.”

According to traditional interpretation, the R̥g. hymn 1.105 is connected with the legend of T. Sāyaṇācārya quotes in his preface to this hymn the legend of T. as it is reported by the Śātyāyanins. It purports as follows⁵: “Three brothers Ekata, Dvita and Trita, while wandering through a desolated forest, felt thirsty. They found a well. Trita entered the well, quenched his thirst and taking some water from the well, offered it to his brothers. The brothers drank the water. They, then, threw Trita in the well, robbed him of all his wealth, closed the mouth of the well by placing a chariot-wheel upon it and went away. Trita, unable to come out of the well, thought of the gods and prayed to them to rescue him from his predicament.” Yāska (Nirukta IV-6) also explains the name Trita as that of a sage or a seer.—The *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (1.184) refers to the legend of T. as follows⁶: “Thirst overcome the three brothers. They found a well in the wilderness. None of the brothers descended into the well except Trita. The brothers went away after having closed Trita in the well under a chariot-wheel. Trita, from his position in the well, felt inspired to pray to the gods, upon which rain poured down, washed the chariot-wheel up with its torrents and enabled Trita to float upwards and come out of the well. He turned his brothers into a monkey and a bear respectively”⁷—

5. See Sāyaṇabhāṣya at the beginning of R̥g. 1.105. It begins with अत्र शाखायनिनः इतिहासमाचक्षते ।
6. See Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa edited by Drs. Raghuvera and Lokesh Chandra (Nagpur 1954).
7. Prof. H. Oertel [Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 18, (1st half), pp. 18-19] gives the versions of the story of Trita : the version as it is found in the Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa, according to the abstract given by Sāyaṇa in the beginning of R̥v. 1.105 and the version in the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa as given above. He says : “It is impossible to determine how much of the phraseology is his (Sāyaṇa’s) and how much belonged to Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa.

Geldner⁸ in his prefatory remarks in the beginning of his translation of Rg. 1.105 significantly remarks that the kernel of the legend is old and is contained in the hymn. "Trita thrown in the well cries out in his distress. The concluding verse (19)⁹ of this hymn should serve as a foil for the request articulated by him."

If we compare the versions of the story of T. in the Vedic Literature and the *Mb.*, we find striking points of resemblance which may be summarised as follows:

- (i) Trita, afraid of the wolf, fell into the well nearby, frantically trying to escape from the wolf.
- (ii) According to one version, he fell into the well. According to another, he was thrown into the well by his covetous brothers.
- (iii) The two brothers, who were covetous of the gains of the sacrifice, deliberately conspired to get Trita out of their way and Trita languishing in the well was welcomed as a good riddance by them.
- (iv) Trita, shut up in the well, chanted hymns invoking gods to the Soma libations. It was Br̥haspati, the high-priest of the gods, who heard the chants of Trita and urged the gods to respond to the invocations of Trita.
- (v) Trita cursed his ungrateful brothers and reduced them to be the beasts of prey.

On comparing the versions of the story of T. as appearing in the Veda and the *Mb* and on noticing the points of similarity between them, one can not but get the impression that the story of T., though sketchy and very brief in the Veda, as is consistent with the particular Vedic style and context, enshrines the human story of T. and his brothers as narrated in the *Mb* and that the story as elaborated by the *Mb* hails from Vedic antiquity.

Trita in the Purāṇas

The story of T. is narrated in the Skanda Purāṇa (7.1.257)¹⁰. The god Śaṁkara is narrating to Pārvatī the importance of the

8. Der Rigveda, Part I, p. 136.

9. ए॒ नाङ्गू॒षेण॑ व॒यमिन्द्र॑ व॒न्तोऽभि॒ष्याम॑ वृ॒जने॑ स॒र्ववी॑राः ।
तन्नो॑ मि॒त्रो वरु॑णो मा॒महन्ता॑मदि॒तिः सिन्धुः॑ पृथि॒वी उ॒त द्यौः ॥

Rv. 1-105.19.

10. Skanda Mahāpurāṇa, Saptama Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa, p. 158 (Venkaṭeshvara Steam Press, Bombay).

holy place called Trita-kūpa situated near the holy place of Prabhāsa. Anent the description of the holy place, Śamkara recounts to Pārvatī the story of Trita which is here summarised as follows:

In the kingdom of Saurāṣṭra, there ruled a king named Ātreya well-versed in the Vedas. He had three sons Ekata, Dvita and Trita of whom, Trita the youngest, was superior to his two brothers in respect of Vedic erudition and other virtues of head and heart. After Ātreya's death, Trita succeeded to the kingdom. Trita thought of performing a sacrifice for which, he collected large herds of cows to be distributed by way of sacrificial rewards (*dakṣiṇā*). With these herds of kine he, along with his two brothers started for the holy place of Prabhāsa, for performing the sacrifice. The two brothers Ekata and Dvita, jealous of Trita, thought of killing him, with a view to securing the herds of kine for themselves. While the three brothers were journeying to Prabhāsa, followed by the herds of kine, there appeared before them a ferocious tiger roaring and gaping his dreadful jaw at them. The herds of kine ran off at the roar of the tiger and the brothers also ran away, seeking refuge at a place which turned out to be a brink of a well. While the tiger went away, the two brothers Ekata and Dvita, who were standing on the brink of the well along with their brother Trita, pushed Trita into the dreadful well which was dry, and made off with the herds of kine. There lay Trita languishing in the dry well, thinking of rescuing himself from that distressing predicament by means of his concrete contemplation of the sacrifice which he wanted to perform. He chanted hymns after hymns and offered the contemplated oblations, envisaging with all vividness a sacrifice on the sandy gravel of the dry well. The profound devotion with which he chanted the invocations and made the contemplated offerings pleased the gods and fetched them before him. Asked by the gods as to what he wanted them to do for him, he replied that he wanted to get away from the well and go home to perform the intended sacrifice. The gods were pleased to grant his wish. Thereupon, the river Sarasvatī gushed forth and flooded the well in which Trita lay, as a result of which Trita emerged out of the well and went home. Since then the well of Trita came to be known as the holy place of pilgrimage.

A reference to the well of Trita as a place of pilgrimage occurs also in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.¹¹ There, it is said that Balarāma in the itinerary of his pilgrimage journeyed from the holy place Prabhāsa to the holy well of Trita. There is no reference in the Bhāgavata P. to the story of Trita.

If we compare the contents of the Purāṇic Story of Trita with those of the story in the Veda and the *Mb*, we find that there is no change in the material contents of the story. The main features viz. the jealousy of the two brothers of Trita, Trita's encounter with the wild beast and his eventual fall into the well, his successful performance of the mental act of sacrifice, by merely chanting the hymns without any material sacrificial accessories, to the propitiation of the gods who were pleased to grant him release from this distressing predicament and the eventual fulfilment of his wish to turn the place, in which he was shut up, into a sacred well, the place of pilgrimage—all these main features in the contents of the old frame of the story are common. Only the Purāṇa changes the status of Trita and his brother from that of common Brāhmaṇas to royal personages; the sons of King Ātreya.

We have thus for presented the story of Trita as it appears in literature from the Vedas to the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. We shall conclude with a recital, in a summarised form, of the main conclusions which can be deduced from our review.

- (i) In the R̥gveda, Trita is found to be a divinity approaching Indra in his characteristics. But besides this divine Trita, there was another Trita, a human personage, whose story has persisted, in its main features, from the Veda, through the Mahābhārata, down to the Purāṇas.
- (ii) This Trita, the human personage, found himself in a predicament in which he had to face, on the one hand, a wild beast of prey and a deep cavernous well on the other.
- (iii) He was harassed by his two jealous brothers Ekata and Dvita and found himself flung and farlorn in the deep

11. (रामः) स्नात्वा प्रभासे संतर्प्य देवर्षिपितृमानवान् ।
सरस्वतीं प्रतिस्रोतः ययौ ब्राह्मणसंवृतः ॥
पृथूदकं बिन्दुसरस्त्रितकूपं सुदर्शनम् ।

well left to his own fate, languishing for want of any success.

- (iv) Undaunted in spirit, Trita, master of priest-craft and Vedic incantations, mastered the depressing situation by the concentrated contemplation of a sacrifice in which he recited hymns after hymns with unflinching singleminded devotion and offered, in contemplation, the Soma libations to the gods invoked in his chants. His chants were so powerful and irresistible that they fetched the gods to the spot where he lay in the well and made them grant his wish for release from his predicament and for filling the well with the holy waters of the Sarasvatī. The well filled with the holy water became a holy place of pilgrimage.

TEXT AND INTERPRETATION OF A VERSE OF THE MATSYA-PURĀṆA

BY

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['पुराणम्' पत्रिकायाः षष्ठभागे (१९६४ वर्षीये) ४४५-४५० पृष्ठेषु मत्स्यपुराणे (२१४.२४, २९) निर्दिष्टयोः 'धर्माधिकरण' 'धर्माधिकारिन्' इत्येतयोः शब्दयोर्विषये एको लेखः प्रकाशितः । तत्र अस्य लेखस्य लेखकेन प्रतिपादितमासीत् यद् एतौ शब्दौ पृथक् पृथक् द्वौ राज्याधिकारिणौ लक्ष्यतः, तत्र 'धर्माधिकारिन्' शब्दोः राज्ञो धर्म-विभागाध्यक्षाय प्रयुक्तः, धर्मविभागे च राज्ञो दानविभागोऽप्यन्तर्भूत आसीदिति च । केवलं जीवानन्दसंस्करणे (२१४, २४) गुरुमण्डल-सिरीजसंस्करणे (२१४, २४) च 'धर्माधिकरणो भवेत्' इति पाठस्य स्थाने 'धर्माधिकरणी भवेत्' इत्येष पाठो वर्तते, शेषेषु सर्वेष्वेव मत्स्यपुराणस्य मुद्रितपुस्तकेषु 'धर्माधिकरणो—' इत्येव पाठो विद्यते । परन्तु लेखकमहोदयेन उपर्युक्ते स्वलेखे काणे महोदयेनापि च (हिस्ट्री ऑफ धर्मशास्त्र, तृतीय भाग, पृष्ठ १२६, पादटिप्पणी १६७ इत्यत्र) 'धर्माधिकरणी' इत्येव पाठोऽनुमोदितः । प्रस्तुतलेखे डा० हाजरा महोदयेन 'धर्माधिकरणः' 'धर्माधिकरणी' एत्युभयोरेव पदयोर्व्युत्पत्ति-प्रदर्शनपूर्वकं 'धर्माधिकरणः' इत्यस्य साधुत्वं प्रतिपादितम् । डा० हाजरा महोदयेन 'एतौ द्वौ शब्दौ पृथक् पृथक् द्वौ अधिकारिणौ सूचयतः' इति पूर्वलेखकस्य मतमपि निरस्तम् । विष्णुधर्मोत्तरेऽपि (२.२४.२५, २९) मत्स्यपुराणस्य २१४.२४, २९ श्लोकौ विद्येते, परन्तु तत्र मत्स्य-पुराणस्य २९ श्लोकस्य "धर्माधिकारिणः कार्या जना दानकरा नराः" इत्युत्तरार्धस्य स्थाने 'धर्माधिकरणे कार्या जनाह्वानकरा नराः' इति पाठो वर्तते । मत्स्यपुराणस्य केषुचित् हस्तलेखेष्वपि विष्णुधर्मोत्तर-स्यैव पाठः ("धर्माधिकरणे कार्या जनाह्वानकरा नराः") आसीदिति आनन्दाश्रमसंस्करणे निर्दिष्टाभ्यां द्वयोर्हस्तलेखयोः (ग, ड इत्येतयोः) पाठान्तराभ्यां सूचितम् । तत्र उभयोरेव हस्तलेखयोः 'धर्माधिकरणे' इति पाठो वर्तते, 'ड' हस्तलेखे च 'ज्ञानाह्वानकराः' इत्यशुद्धः पाठः ('जनाह्वानकराः' इति शुद्धपाठस्य स्थाने) वर्तते । हाजरामहोदयेनात्र लेखे युक्तिपूर्वकं प्रतिपादितं यत् मत्स्यपुराणस्य मुद्रितपुस्तकेषु वर्तमानस्य "धर्माधिकारिणः कार्या जना दानकरा नराः" इत्यस्य

स्थाने “धर्माधिकरणे कार्या जनादानकरा नराः” इत्येव पाठः साधुर्युक्ति-
युक्तश्च, यतो मत्स्यपुराणस्य वर्तमानपाठे ‘जना’...‘नराः’ इत्येतयोरन्वयो
संभवो न भवति, ‘जना दानकरा नराः’ इति पदविच्छेदपूर्वकः (जना+
दानकराः) पाठस्तु मुद्रितसंस्करणानां संपादकानाम् असावधानतया
अज्ञानेन वा जनितः, शुद्धपाठस्तु ‘जनादानकरा नराः’ इत्येव
भवितुमर्हति, यत्र ‘आदान’ इत्यस्य ‘वन्दीकरणं’ ‘वन्धनं’ इत्यादयोऽर्थाः
सन्ति ।]

Recently, while turning the pages of some old issues of the *Purāṇam*, I came across, in Vol. VI, 1964, pp. 445-450, an interesting article entitled “*Dharmādhikaraṇa and Dharmādhikārin*”, in which the words ‘धर्माधिकरण’ and ‘धर्माधिकारिन्’ (both masculine), contained in two verses of the *Matsya-purāṇa*, have been taken to be the designations of two ‘separate officers’ and the latter word to mean an officer in charge of ‘the Department of Religious Affairs, of which the king’s charities formed a branch’.¹ These two verses of the *Matsya-p.*, which occur in the same chapter and have seven metrical lines on allied topics intervening between them, are the following:

“समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च धर्मशास्त्रविशारदः ।
विप्रमुख्यः कुलीनश्च धर्माधिकरणो भवेत् ॥”
“पुरुषान्तरतत्त्वज्ञाः प्रांशवश्चाप्यलोलुपाः ।
धर्माधिकारिणः कार्या जना दानकरा नराः ॥”

Of these two verses the first occurs, without any difference in reading, not only in a few editions of the *Matsya-p.* such as the Vaṅga. ed. (215.24), Veṅkaṭ. ed. (214.24) and ĀnSS. ed. (215.24), but also in the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* (Veṅkaṭ. ed. 2.24.24cd-25ab); and, so far as I have been able to find, it is only Jīv.’s ed. (214.24) and the G.S. ed. (214.24) which read ‘धर्माधिकरणी’ (for ‘धर्माधिकरणः’). So, it is wrong to say that ‘in the printed texts of the *Matsya-purāṇa*’ ‘we usually get the reading *Dharmādhikaraṇi* for *Dharmādhikaraṇo*’², although the *Budha-bhūṣaṇa*³, which calls a judge ‘धर्माधिकारी’, anonymously quotes the said verse of the *Matsya-p.* with the reading ‘धर्माधिकरणी’⁴. As a matter of fact, the word ‘धर्माधिकरणः’ being derived, like ‘जनार्दनः’, ‘मधुसूदनः’, etc., as “धर्मम् अधिकरोति इति

1. *Purāṇam*, VI, p. 449.

2. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 446.

3. Ed. H. D. Velankar, Bombay.

4. *Budha-bhūṣaṇa*, p. 48, verse 216.

धर्म+अधि-√कृ+ल्यु” by Pāṇini’s rule 3.1.134—“नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युङिन्त्यचः”, is quite good and correct and adequately means ‘an officer (a judge) who is in charge of Dharma (Law, i.e., judicial matters)’; whereas ‘धर्माधिकरणी’, being derived thus—“अधिक्रियते अस्मिन् इति अधि-√कृ+ल्युट्—अधिकरणम् (by Pāṇini’s rule 3.3.117—“करणाधिकरण-वोश्च”), धर्मस्य अधिकरणं धर्माधिकरणम्, तदस्ति अस्य इति धर्माधिकरण+इन् (by Pāṇini’s rule 5.2.115—“अत इनिठनौ”), and consequently meaning ‘one having a court of justice’ or ‘the owner of a court of justice’, does not invariably mean ‘a judge’. So, the latter reading is definitely worse, and not ‘a better’ one, and must be due to a misreading of the former, and not *vice versa*⁵. But it is strange that P.V. Kane, though giving out (on p. xxviii) to have used the ĀnSS. ed. of the *Matsya-p.* in his *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. III, quotes, in foot-note 167 on p. 126, the former verse (समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च etc.) with the worse reading ‘धर्माधिकरणी’, which is not given in the text of that edition but is said in a foot-note to occur in three manuscripts, which are evidently worse. As a matter of fact, the use of the term ‘धर्माधिकरणी’ for a judge is foreign to Smṛti works as well as to the epics and the Purāṇas (except some of the mss. of the *Matsya-p.*).

The second verse (पुरुषान्तरतत्त्वज्ञाः etc.), with which we are mainly concerned here, occurs, without the least variation in reading, in all the printed eds. of the *Matsya-p.* known to us, viz., Vaṅga ed. (215. 28cd-29ab), Veṅkaṭ. ed. (214. 28cd-29ab), ĀnSS. ed. (215. 29cd-30ab), Jīv.’s ed. (214. 28cd-29ab), and G. S. ed. (214. 28cd-29ab). The *Viṣṇu-dh.* (2 24.29) also has this verse but reads its second half thus:

“धर्माधिकरणे कार्या जनाह्वानकरा नराः ॥

That some of the mss. of the *Matsya-p.* had the second half of this verse with the readings as given in the *Viṣṇu-dh.*, is shown by the fact that, of the six mss. used in the ĀnSS. ed., two (ग and ङ) read ‘धर्माधिकरणे’ and one (ङ) has ‘ज्ञानाह्वानकराः’, which is evidently a mistake for ‘जनाह्वानकराः’.

Under the word ‘धर्माधिकरण’ the *Śabda-kalpadrūma* quotes both the said verses, ascribing the first to the ‘*Matsya-purāṇa*’ and the second anonymously by reading its second half, like the *Viṣṇu-dh.*, as ‘धर्माधिकरणे कार्या जनाह्वानकरा नराः’. But, even in view of the readings of the second verse as quoted in the *Śabda-kalpadrūma*, the learned

5. *Purāṇam*, VI, pp. 446-47.

author of the said article finds nothing wrong in the readings of this verse (पुरुषान्तरतत्त्वज्ञाः etc.) as given in the printed eds. of the *Matsya-p.*, but takes them to be correct and to have been derived by the *Śabda-kalpadrum* 'from a corrupt text of the Purāṇa' (i.e., *Matsya-p.*) with 'some error in the quotation of the second half'.⁶ As the said two verses of the *Matsya-p.* have been intervened by seven metrical lines⁷, of which one gives the qualifications of the Sabhāsads (members of the court of justice) and the remaining six enumerate those of the Lekhaka (Scribe) by repeating the word 'सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः' for a second time in a different verse, and as the author of the said article fails to understand the meanings of these lines as well as that of the verse (No. 2) which follows them, he takes 'धर्माधिकरणः' (in verse No. 1) and 'धर्माधिकारिणः' (in verse No. 2) to mean two 'separate officers' (of which the second, in his opinion, is in charge of धर्माधिकार, by which he means the Department of Religious Affairs); and connecting 'दानकराः' with 'धर्माधिकारिणः' as an epithet, he says : "The epithet *dānakara* applied to the person qualified to become a Dharmādhikārin suggests that he

6. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 448 and 446.

7. These seven lines, together with the said two verses (of which the first precedes and the second follows them), have been given in the *Matsya-p.* thus :

समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च धर्मशास्त्रविशारदः ।

विप्रमुख्यः कुलीनश्च धर्माधिकरणो (G.S. and Jiv.'s eds.

— करणी') भवेत् ।

कार्यास्तथाविधास्तत्र द्विजमुख्याः सभासदः ॥

सर्वदेशाक्षराभिज्ञः सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ।

लेखकः कथितो राज्ञः सर्वाधिकरणेषु वै ॥

शीर्षोपेतान् सुसंपूर्णान् समश्रेणिगतान् समान् ।

आन्तरान् वै लिखेद् यस्तु लेखकः स वरः स्मृतः ॥

उपायवाक्यकुशलः सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ।

बह्वर्थवक्ता चाल्पेन लेखकः स्यान्नृपोत्तम ॥

पुरुषान्तरतत्त्वज्ञाः प्राशवश्चाप्यलोलुपाः ।

धर्माधिकारिणः कार्या जना दानकरा नराः ॥

— See Vaṅga. ed. 215. 24-29ab, Venkaṭ. ed. 214. 24-29ab, ĀnSS. ed. 215. 24-28ab and 29cd-30ab, Jiv.'s ed. 214. 24-29ab, and G.S. ed. 214. 24-29ab.

For these verses see also *Viṣṇu-dh.* 2. 24. 24cd-29, which read '—देशाक्षराभिज्ञाः सर्वशास्त्रविशारदाः । लेखकाः कथिता राम सर्वाधि-' in lines 4-5, '-द्रोयो-' for '-श्रेयो-' in line 6, अक्षरान् विलिखेद्' in line 7, 'स्याद् भृगूत्तम' in line 9, and '-धिकरणे कार्या जनाहानकरा-' in line 11.

was in charge of the king's *dāna-dharma* or charities, while we have seen above that he was a superintendent in the Department of Religious Affairs"⁸, and "The occurrence of the expression *sarva-śāstra-viśaradaḥ* in two different stanzas in the description of the Lekhaka may be a copyist's error or due to the fact that the Purāṇa adopted the verses from two separate sources"⁹.

It is hardly necessary to say that most of these and similar other statements made in the said article are based mainly on a complete misunderstanding of the text and meaning of the second verse (पुरुषान्तरतत्त्वज्ञाः etc.) quoted above; and, in this, the author of the said article is in good company, because none of the translators of the *Matsya-p.* known to us is found to have the slightest doubt about the readings of this verse as given in the printed texts of this Purāṇa or to translate it correctly. For instance, Pandit Panchanan Tarkaratna translates the word 'पुरुषान्तरतत्त्वज्ञाः' and the line 'धर्माधिकारिणः कार्या जना दानकरा नराः' into Bengali as 'জনগণের মর্মান্বিত' ('thoroughly knowing the minds of the people') and 'দাতা জনগণকে ধর্মাদিকারে নিয়োগ করা কর্তব্য' (liberal persons should be employed in a court of justice)¹⁰, and Taluqdar renders them into English as 'expert in knowing the hearts of people' and 'those people ought to be placed in religious services, or in judicial services who are ...of a charitable disposition' respectively¹¹,

Now, the question is: If 'दानकराः' be taken to qualify 'धर्माधिकारिणः' (having the first case ending), then how are we to construe the said verse? Is it not extremely queer and incorrect to say "...जनाः...नराः कार्याः" or "...नराः...जनाः कार्याः", when both 'जनाः' and 'नराः' mean the same thing? What, again, is exactly the meaning of the word 'दानकर', and how are we to derive it? If it be a Bahuvrīhi compound formed of the words 'दान' (gift) and 'कर' (hand) thus—'दानं (दानानि वा) करे (करयोर्वा) यस्य सः' and, consequently, mean '(one) who has a gift (or gifts) in his hand (or hands)', then it is quite irrelevant here, because an officer (here a Dharmādhi-kārin), having a gift (or gifts) in his hand (or hands) and not indicating in any way that he is not the original owner of the object (or objects) of gift or that he is giving, or has the intention

8-9. *Purāṇam*, VI, p. 448.

10. See *Matsya-p.*, Vaṅga. ed., p. 771.

11. *Matsya-purāṇa* (translated into English; Sacred Books of the Hindus. Vol. XVII, reprint, 1972.)

of giving, it (or these) to a donee (or donees), is absolutely useless and does not serve any purpose. If, again, it be a Kṛdanta word derived, in accordance with Pāṇini's rule "कृञो हेतुताच्छील्यानुलोभ्ये" ¹² (3.2.20), with the Kṛt suffix 'ट', thus—दानं करोति इति (ताच्छील्ये) दान+√कृ+ट', and consequently mean 'one who makes gift (as a matter of duty, habit or nature)', it makes the officer himself the donor (दाता); and it has to be rejected not only for this implication but also for the fact that it does not indicate in any way that the officer is a mere representative of another person and is meant for properly disbursing the gifts to be made by the latter.

Thus, the word 'दानकर', being given separately in the said verse of the *Matsya-p.*, has created insurmountable difficulties; and for this situation we are to find fault not with the text of the *Matsya-p.* but with the careless and not rarely inadequately educated scribes of its mss. and more particularly with the editors of this work, who have written the words 'जना' and 'दानकराः' separately without trying to understand the meaning of the verse. As a matter of fact, 'जनादानकराः' is one word, and with it the second half of the said verse has to be read as

"धर्माधिकारिणः कार्या जनादानकरा ¹³ नराः",

in which 'धर्माधिकारिन्' ¹⁴ means a 'judge' ('प्राङ्ब्रिवाक' as Pratāparudra-deva says in his *Sarasvatī-vilāsa*, Vyavahāra kāṇḍa, Mysore ed., p. 80), 'कार्याः' means 'should be made (i.e., appointed, —नियोज्याः)', 'आदान' (derived from आ+श्वादि—or जुहोत्यादि-गणाय√दा) means 'bringing in' 'imprisoning', 'making captive', 'binding' or 'fettering', and 'जनादानकराः' is a Compound which is formed of the words 'जन', 'आदान', and 'कर' (derived, in accordance with the said rule of Pāṇini, by adding the Kṛt suffix ट to √कृ in the sense of ताच्छील्य) and means '(those) who (as a matter of duty) bring people in (and keep them in custody)', and 'नराः' means 'men' (i.e., 'officers', —'पुरुषाः'). According to Brhaspati, a court of justice is to have ten *aṅgas* (limbs or constituents) including the Gaṇaka

12. It means that, in the sense of 'cause', 'duty' (or 'habit' or 'nature') and 'compliance', the root कृञ् (>कृ), when preceded by an upapada (contiguous word) in the Accusative case, takes the suffix 'ट'.

13. Cf. 'जनादानकराः' of the *Viṣṇu-dh.*

14. 'धर्माधिकारिन्' is formed thus : धर्मे अधिकारः (धर्माधिकारः), सः अस्ति अस्य इति इन्. So, it means 'one who is placed in charge of *dharma*' (Law, i.e. judicial administration).

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(Accountant), the Lekhaka (Scribe), and the king's own officer' (स्वपुरुष, otherwise called Sādhyapāla).¹⁵ As to the appointment and duties of this 'officer', Bṛhaspati says :

“आकारणे रक्षणे च साक्ष्यर्थिप्रतिवादिनाम् ।

सभ्याधीनः सत्यवादी कर्तव्यस्तु स्वपुरुषः ॥”¹⁶

[“But the, (king's) own officer, who is truthful, should be placed under the assessors (i.e., members of the court of justice) in (the matter of) summoning and guarding (from escape) the witnesses, plaintiffs and defendants”], and

“प्रत्यर्थिसभ्यानयनं साक्षिणां च स्वपुरुषः ।

कुर्याद् अलग्नकौ रक्षेद् योऽर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनौ सदा ॥”¹⁷

[“The (king's) own officer should bring in (to the court of justice) the defendants, the assessors and the witnesses, (and he) should always guard (and prevent from escape) the plaintiff and the defendant who have furnished no surety”].

15. नृपोऽधिकृतसभ्याश्च स्मृतिर्गणकलेखकौ ।

हेमाग्नचम्बुस्वपुरुषाः साधनाङ्गानि वै दश ॥

For this verse see Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtya-kalpataru* (Baroda ed.), XII (Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa), p. 26; Aparāditya's commentary *Aparārka* on *Tājñavalkya-smṛti* (ĀnSS. ed.), p. 600; Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa's *Smṛti-candrikā* (Mysore ed.), III (Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa), Part I, p. 20; and so on.

See also *Bṛhaspati-smṛti* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda), Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa, 1.87.

16. For this verse see *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, XII, pp. 29-30, *Smṛti-candrikā*, III. i, p. 39, Madana-siṃha's *Madana-ratna-pradīpa* (ed. P.V. Kane, Bikaner), p. 9, Pṛthvī-candra's *Vyavahāra-prakāśa* (ed. J. H. Dave, Bombay), Part I, p. 21, Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya*, Vyavahāra-prakāśa (ed. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1929), p. 31, and so on.

आकारणम् आह्वानम्—*Smṛti-candrikā*, III. i, p. 39.

17. For this verse see *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, XII, p. 27, *Smṛti-candrikā* III. i, p. 45, *Madana-ratna-pradīpa*, p. 11 (v. 1. 'रक्षेद् अर्थि-' omitting 'यः' in the second half), *Vyavahāra-prakāśa*, p. 17, (v. 1. as in *Madana-ratna-pradīpa*), *Vīramitrodaya*, Vyavahāra-prakāśa, p. 31, and so on.

The said officer is called *Sādhya-pāla* and has to be a *Śūdra* and to be hereditary, (physically and mentally) firm, and obedient to the members of the court, as *Vyāsa* says :

“साध्यपालस्तु कर्तव्यो राज्ञा साध्यस्य साधकः ।

क्रमायातो दृढः शूद्रः सभ्यानां च मते स्थितः ॥”¹⁸

According to *Devana-bhaṭṭa*, ‘साध्यस्य’ means ‘अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिसाक्ष्यादीनाम् आह्वानकार्यस्य’ (‘of the work of summoning the plaintiffs, defendants, witnesses, and others’).

From the above statements of *Bṛhaspati* and *Vyāsa* it is evident that, in ancient India, officers were appointed by the State in the courts of justice to help the judges in their work of judicial administration by summoning the plaintiffs, defendants, witnesses, *Sabhyas*, and others according to necessity, by keeping in custody the first three (viz., plaintiffs, defendant and witnesses), and by guarding from escape the plaintiffs and the defendants, in case they furnished no surety. So, these officers were required to be extremely honest, truthful and painstaking, to avoid, in all circumstances, confusion between man and man in summoning them or keeping them in custody or guarding them from escape, to be men of great stature (so that they might be the objects of the people’s fear as well as respect and might cover long distances easily and speedily), and be above acceptance of unlawful gratification. Consequently, the *Matsya-p.* characterises these officers thus :

“पुरुषान्तरतत्त्वज्ञाः प्रांशवश्चाप्यलोलुपाः ।

धर्माधिकारिणः कार्या जनादानकरा नराः ॥”

[“(Those people who are) conversant with the true nature of the *difference* between persons, (are) tall, and also (are) not greedy, should be made a judge’s men (i.e. officers) *who bring in (relevant) people* (and keep them in custody)”],

or

“A judge’s men (who are) conversant with the true nature of the *difference* between persons, (are) tall, and also (are) not greedy, should be made to *bring men in* (and to keep them in custody)”.

18. For this verse of *Vyāsa* see *Smṛti-candrikā*, III. i, p. 39, *Madana-ratna-pradīpa*, p. 9, *Vīramitrodaya*, *Vyavahāra-prakāśa*, p. 31, and so on.

As, with the sixth case-ending in 'धर्माधिकारिणः' (which means 'of the judge'), the said verse of the *Matsya-p.* cannot be construed properly and satisfactorily, and as the *Viṣṇu-dh.* (2.24.29), from which, as we have shown elsewhere,¹⁹ the *Matsya-p.* borrowed the said verse together with a number of others, reads the second half of the verse as "धर्माधिकारणे कार्यं जनाह्वानकरा नराः", we should read 'धर्माधिकारणे' for 'धर्माधिकारिणः' and translate the said verse thus :

"Men (who are) conversant with the true nature of the *difference* between men, (and are) tall, and also (are) not greedy, should be made *in a court of justice* to *bring people in* (and keep them in custody)".

It has already been said that by 'धर्माधिकारिन्' the Smṛti-writers (such as Pratāparudradeva) meant the प्राड्विवाक (judge). As a matter of fact, no Smṛti work, early or late, makes any mention of any special officer who was in charge of the Department of Religious Affairs and dealt with the king's charities. The reasons for this silence of the Smṛti-writers will be pointed out later on a different occasion.

19. R.C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. I, pp. 202-05.

Abbreviations used above :

ĀnSS.	= Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona.
Ed. ; eds.	= Edition, or, edited by; editions.
G. S.	= Gurumaṇḍala Series, Calcutta.
Jīv.	= Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta.
Mss.	= Manuscripts.
.p.	= -purāṇa.
Vaṅga	= Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta.
Veṅkaṭ.	= Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.
Viṣṇu-dh.	= <i>Viṣṇu-dharmottara</i> .

GEOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNIC DATA IN THE BRAHMAVAIVARTA PURĀṆA

BY

ANANTRAY J. RAWAL

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे लेखकेन ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणे निर्दिष्टानां नदी-पर्वत-
तीर्थादिभौगोलिकशब्दानां संग्रहं कृत्वा आधुनिक त्रिदुषां मतानुसारेण
यथासंभवं तेषां वर्तमान-स्थाननिर्देशोऽपि कृतः ।]

AMṚTĀ : It is a tīrtha. One should utter the name of Amṛtā at the time of taking a bath (1.26.30). It may be Amṛta-vāhinītīrtha at Nasik (Pandit Ram Gopal Mishra, Tapo-bhūmi, p. 184).

AMARĀVATĪ : It is a city. It is referred to in the BVP (4.39.42). This is the name of a town which has the Amareśvara-temple (Cf. Law B. C., Historical Geography of Ancient India, p. 139). It is the modern Amaravati in Madhya-pradesh.

AVANTĪNAGARA : It is a town. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma went to Avantī for their study. (4.54.12, 4.101.27). The capital of Avantī which was one of the sixteen great Janapadas, was Ujjainī which was built by Accutagāmin (Cf. Law B. C., op. cit., p. 52). It corresponds to the modern Ujjain.

AṅGA : It is a name of country. It is referred to in the BVP (4.105.2). This was one of the sixteen Janapadas. (Cf. Law B.C., op. cit., pp. 42 ff, 201 ff). According to D. C. Sircar it is east Bihar (op. cit. p. 27).

AYODHYĀ : This is a city. If one sees an image of Rāma at Ayodhyā on the day of Rāmanavamī, one has not to be born again (4.76.27). It is one of the seven holy places of the Hindus. It is the modern Ayodhya in Faizabad district U. P. (Cf. Law B. C., op. cit., pp. 67 ff).

ASTĀCALA : It is the mountain. Brahmā created it. (1.7.2). Sircar D. C. considers it as a mythical mountain (Cf. op. cit. p. 84).

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BADARĪ : It is a holy tīrtha. One should utter the name of Badarī at the time of taking a bath (3.28.30). This is Badarīnāth in Garhwal, U. P. in the Himalayas (Cf. Kalyāṇa, Tīrthāṅka, pp. 46 ff).

BINDUMĀDHAVA : It is a holy place. If one worships Bindumādhava on Janmāṣṭamī, one has not to be born again (4.76.23). It is a holy Tīrtha situated at Varanasi.

BINDUSAROVARA : It is a holy lake. The BVP states that once Kṛṣṇa wept and from his tears it was born and came to be known as Bindusarovara (4.121.47). It is situated two miles away from the Gangotri. (Cf. Pandit Ram Gopal, op. cit., p. 104).

BĀHŪDA : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP (4.129.47). The Bāhūdā is identified by some scholars with the Dhavalā i.e. modern Dhumala, a tributary of the Rapti and by others with the Ramaganga that joins the Ganges near Kanoja (Sircar D.C. studies in geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India, p. 41).

BHOGAVATĪ : It is a name of a river, one should utter the name of the Bhogavatī at the time of taking a bath (1.26.68). R. B. Jote holds that it is the name of the modern Cambay (Cf. Jote R. B., Khambhata no Itihasa, pp. 217-238).

BHADRĀ : It is a name of a river. One should remember the name of Bhadrā in ritual (3.28.27). It is the modern Yarakanda river. (Cf. Pandit Ram Gopal, op. cit., p. 22).

BHĀRATA : It is name of a country. The BVP states that the Bhāratavarṣa is the best amongst all other Varṣas (4.26.15). For the detail description of Bhāratavarṣa vide Kantawala S G., Cultural History from the Matsya Purāṇa, pp 309ff. It is needless to say that it is India.

BHALLAKA : It seems to be a name of people. Bhīṣmaka sent his messenger to Bhallaka. If it is read as Bhālaka, it can be located near Prabhasa Patana or Veravala in Saurashtra (Cf. Kalyāṇa Tīrthāṅka p 419).

CANDRABHĀGĀ : It is a name of a river. If one sees an image of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā on the bank of the river Candrabhāgā, one has not to be born again (4.76.37). It is the modern Chenab (Cf. Law B. C., Op. Cit., P. 73),

CAMPĀ : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP. (2.64.59). This river forms the boundary between Aṅga in the east and Magadha in the west (Cf. Law B. C., Op. Cit., P. 214). It is the modern Candan (Sircar D. C., Op. Cit., P. 83).

CAMPĀVATĪ : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP. (4.59.29). It is the modern Chaul 15 miles south of Bombay. (Bajpai K. D., op. cit., p. 86).

CANDRAREKHĀ : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP. (2.64.59).

CELAGAṅGĀ : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP. (2.64.60).

It is the river Kaveri. (The Geographical Encyclopaedia of Ancient and Mediaeval India. Ed. by K. D. Bajapi. Indic Academy, Nepali Khapara Varanasi 1967 Part I P. 92).

CANDRASAROVARA : It is a lake. It is referred to in the BVP (4.93.97).

DADHISAMUDRA : It is an ocean. Brahmā created it (1.7.5).

DUGDHASAMUDRA : It is a name of ocean. It was created by Brahmā (1.7.5).

DRAVIḍA : It is name of a country. It is referred to in the BVP (4.64.55). It denotes the Tamil country (Cf. Law B. C., op. cit., p. 150).

DVĀRĀVATĪ : It is a town. It is also known as Dvārakā. Kṛṣṇa ordered Viśvakarman to build Dvārakā and consequently he built it. (4.103.76). It was originally situated near the mountain Giranar, but in later times it has been recognized as Dvārakā on the sea-shore on the extreme west coast of Kathiawad (Cf. Law B. C., op. cit., p. 282).

DURGA : It is name of people. Bhīṣmaka sent his messenger to Durga (4.105.56). They are people of the valley of the Durga a tributary of the Sabarmati (Sircar D. C. op. cit. p. 32).

GAṅGĀ : It is a river. The BVP states that there is no other Tīrtha like the Gaṅgā on the earth (1.17.16). The Gaṅgā is the best river of all other rivers (3.3.5). It is also known as Alakanandā (2.10.13). Bhāgirathī (2.6.50), Jāhnavī

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(4.32.32) and Bhīṣmasū (4.34.22), because Bhagirath brought it on the earth by practising penance, the sage Jahnu bore it from his thighs and it bore Bhīṣma. It is a famous river of the same name in India and flows from the Himalayas (Cf. Law B. C., op. cit., p. 64).

GOMATĪ : It is a river. One should remember the Gomatī at the time of taking a bath (1.27.69, 2.64.59). This river is the same as the Ṛgvedic Gomatī which is probably the modern Gomai, a western tributary of the Indus (Law B. C. op., cit. p., 80).

GANDHAMĀDANA : It is a mountain. Vedavatī practised penance on the Gandhamādana (2.16.144). It is part of the mountain Kailāsa where the Badarīkāśrama is situated (Cf. Pandit Ram Gopal op. cit. Ap. p. 10).

GAṆḌAKĪ : It is a river. The name of Gaṇḍakī should be uttered at the time of taking a bath (2.64.59). The BVP states that due to Viṣṇu's curse, the goddess Tulasī became the river Gaṇḍakī (2.21.32). It is the modern Gaṇḍaka, the famous tributary of the Ganges and joins the river sonapur in the Muzaffar district Bihar (Cf. Law B. C., op. cit., pp. 75 ff).

GOMĀNTA : It is a mountain. It is referred to in the BVP (2.18.20). The Gomānta is one of the hills of the western Ghats (Law B. C., op. cit., p. 22).

GODĀVARĪ : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP (2.64.59). It is the largest and longest river in south India, the source of which can be traced to the western Ghats (Cf. Law B. C., op. cit., p. 153).

GOKULA : It is a village. Kṛṣṇa is said Gokuleśa (4.67.20). This is a village and it is six miles away from Mathurā and situated on the bank of the river Yamunā (Cf. Kalyana Tirthanka p. 99).

GOVARDHANA : It is a mountain. The BVP gives an etymological description of the Govardhana as follows—It is called Govardhana because "it always nourishes cows." Cf. 4.21.88).

There is a hill of this name, 18 miles from Vṛndāvana in the district of Mathurā (Cf. Law B. C., op. cit., p. 80).

GALLAKA : It seems to be a name of people. Bhīṣmaka sent his messenger to the Gallak (4.105.560).

HIMĀLAYA : It is a mountain. The BVP states that the Himālaya is the best amongst all other mountains (3.32.45, 4.26.18). The Himalayas are the longest mountain of India were also known as Himavat in ancient India (Law B. C., op. cit., p. 81).

HARADVĀRA : It is a holy place. One's sins are destroyed if one takes a bath at Haradvāra (4.1.56). It is a holy place of the Vaiṣṇavas in northern India. It is same as the modern Hardvar in the Saharanpur district (Cf. Law B.C., op. cit., p. 81).

HĪNGŪLĀ : It is a holy place. If one sees an image of Durgā in the month of Āśvina at Hīngulā, one has not to be born again (4.76.21). It is the modern Hingalaja and it is situated at the extremity of the range of mountains in Baluchistan called by the name of Hīngulā about 20 miles from the sea coast on the bank of the Aghor or the Hingula river (Cf. Law B. C., op. cit., p. 85).

ĪKṢUSAMUDRA : It is a name of an ocean. It was created by Brahmā (1.6.5).

JALASAMDURA : It is a name of an ocean. It was created by Brahmā (1.7.5).

JAMBŪDVĪPA : It is a dvīpa. Brahmā created it (1.7.6). In a narrower connotation it is one of the names of India (Cf. Law B.C., PP. 8 ff).

KṢEMĀ : It is a river, It is referred to in the BVP (1.26.69). It may be Kṣemavatī and is situated in Nepal (Cf. Pandit Ram Gopal, Op. Cit., p. 37).

KĀNYAKUBJA : It is a name of a country. Drumila was a king of Kānyakubja (1.20.12). It is modern Kanoj which was also known as Gadhipura, Kuśasthala and Mahodaya. (Cf. Law B.C., Op. Cit., p. 93).

KĀVERĪ : It is a river. One should remember the name of Kāverī at the time of taking a bath (1.26.66). It is the same as the modern Kāverī which starting from Coorg passes through the districts of Coimbtore, Trichinopoly and falls into the bay of Bengal (Cf. Law B.C., Op. Cit., p. 162).

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KAUŚIKĪ : It is a river. One should remember the name of Kauśikī at the time of taking a bath (1.26.68). It is identified with Kuśiara of Sylhet flowing through the area known as Panca-Khanda (Cf. Law. B.C., Op. Cit., p. 226).

KAILĀSA : It is a mountain. Brahmā created it (1.7.6). "It may be identified with the Vaidyutaparvata. It is the Kangrin poche of the Tibetans situated about 25 miles to the north of Mānsarovara. Badrikāśrama is said to be situated on this mountain" (Law B.C., Op. Cit., p. 88, 83).

KUŚADVĪPA : It is a dvīpa Brahmā created Kuśadvīpa. Some scholars identify Kuśa with Ethopia while others place it in central Egypt (Cf. Sircar D.C., Op. Cit., p. 164).

KOṆĀRKA : It is a holy place. If one worships Sūrya in Koṇārka, one has not to be born again (4.76.42). Yājñavalkya prayed to Sūrya in Koṇārka (2.5.3). It is the same as the modern Koṇārak. It is famous for the Hindu temple which is one of the best specimens of Indian architecture (Cf. Law B.C., Op. Cit., p. 166).

KĀŃCANA : It is a mountain. It is referred to in the BVP (2.16.147).

KANAKHALA : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP (2.64.59). It is one of the branches of Ganges and 3 miles far from the Hara-ki-pairi (Cf. Kalyāṇa Tīrthāṅka p. 64).

KURUKṢETRA : It is a holy place. It is referred to in the BVP (3.28.25). The ancient Kuru country may be said to have comprised the Kurukṣetra or Thanesvara. The region included Sonapat, Amin, Karnal and Panipat and was situated between the Sarasvatī on the north and the Drṣadvatī on the South (Cf. Law B.C., Op. Cit., p. 101).

KĀŚĪ : It is a city. If one sees Śiva at Kāśī on the day of Śivarātri one has not to be born again (4.76.22). It's another name is Varanasi (3.28.29).

KEDĀRA : It is a holy place. It came to be known as Kedāra because the king Kedāra practised penance there (4.17.199). This is identified with the Kedarnatha in the Himalayas (Cf. Kantawala S.G., Op. Cit., p. 344).

KĀMARŪPA : It is a country. If one sees an image of Kālī at Kāmarūpa on the 14th day of the month of Caitra one is not be born again (4.76.27). It is bounded on the north by Bhutan, on the east by the districts of Darrang and Nowganga on the South by the Khasi hills and on the West by Goalpara (Cf. Law B.C., Op. Cit., pp. 226 ff).

KALIṆGA : It is a country. Bhīṣmaka sent his messenger to the Kaliṅga (4.105.55). The ancient Kaliṅga county seems to have comprised modern Orissa to the South of the Vaitarani and the sea-coast southwards as far as Vizagapatam (Cf. Law. B. C., op. cit., pp. 157 ff).

KṚTAMĀLĀ : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP (4.127.47). This river is identified with the Vaigai which flows past the town of Madhura, the capital of the kingdom of Pandya (Cf. Law B. C., op. cit., p. 168).

KHARVA : It seems a name of people. It is referred to in the BVP (4.105.56).

KRAUṆCADVĪPA : It is the name of a dvīpa. Brahmā created it (1.7.6). (For detail about Krauṇcadvīpa vide Pargiter F. E., Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa Translation, p. 364).

LAṆKĀ : It is a country. It is referred to in the BVP (4.86.71). Generally this is associated with Ceylon: but there is a lot of controversy about the exact location of Laṅkā.

LAVAṄGASAMUDRA : It is a name of an ocean. Brahmā created it (1.7.5).

MĀLINĪ : It is a river. One should remember the name of Mālinī at the time of taking the bath (1.26.67). This river flows through the district of Saharanpur.

MAHĀPAGĀ : It is a river. One should utter the name of Mahāpagā at the time of taking the bath (1.26.67).

MALAYA : It is a mountain. It was created by Brahmā (1.7.3). The name Malaya was applied to Travancore hills and the southernmost part of the western ghats to the South of Nilagiri (Cf. Kantawala S.G., op. cit., p. 358).

MADRADEŚA : It is a country. Aśvapati was the king of Madradeśa (2,23.6). It roughly corresponds to the modern

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Sialkot and the surrounding regions between the Ravi and the Chenab rivers (Cf. Law B. C., op. cit., p. 105).

MAṆIDVĪPA : It is a country. It is referred to in the BVP (4.86.80).

MATSYA : It is the name of a country. The BVP refers to the Matsyārāja (3.36.1). This comprises the modern territory of Jaypur-Alwar with a portion of Bharatpura (Cf. Law B. C., op. cit., pp. 41, 51).

MITHILĀ : It is the name of a country. The BVP refers to the Mithileśvara (3.36.2). It is identified with the modern Janakapura, a small town within the Nepal border. (Cf. Law B.C., Op. Cit., p. 236).

MAGADHA : It is a name of a country. The BVP refers to the Magadhāhipati (3.36.2). It is one of the sixteen Mahā-janapadas and roughly corresponds to the modern Patna and Gaya districts of Bihar (Cf. Law B. C., op. cit., p. 44 ff, 232 ff).

MAHĀRĀṢṬRA : It is a name of a country. Bhīṣmaka sent his messenger to the Mahārāṣṭra (4.105.56), It is the modern Maharashtra region.

MATHURĀ : It is a city. It is referred to in the BVP. (4.1.15, 4.6.266). It is the modern Mathura.

MERU : It is a mountain. Brahmā created Meru (1.7.9). Sircar D. C. holds that it is a mythical mountain (Cf. op. cit. p. 9).

MADHUPURĪ : It is a city. It is referred to in the BVP (4.69.35). It is modern Maholi five miles away from Mathura in South-west (Pandit Ram Gopal, op. cit., p. AP. 23).

MUDGALA : It is a name of people. It is referred to in the BVP (4.105.56). It is the modern Monghyr (Sircar D.C. op. cit. p. 27).

MURĀṆGAKA : It is a name of people. It is referred to in the BVP (4.105.56).

NAIMIṢĀRAṆYA : It is a name of holy forest. It is referred to in the BVP. (1.1.3). This is the modern Nimsar on the bank of the Gomatī in the Sitapur district (Law B. C., op. cit., P. 113).

NĀRĀYAṆĀŚRAMA : It is a holy place. It is referred to in the BVP (1.1.40). It is the modern Nara-Nārāyaṇa Ashrama at Badari-Kedar.

NALINĪ : It seems to be name of a river. One should utter its name at the time of taking a bath (1.26.67). "The Nalinī may thus be tentatively indentified with the Salween or the Mekong." (Sircar D. C., op. cit., p. 59).

NARMADĀ : It is a river. One should remember its name at the time of taking the bath (1.26.66, 2.64.58). It is the modern Narmada.

NĀRĀYANAKṢETRA : It is a name of a holy place. If one gives dāna at Nārāyaṇakṣetra it becomes crore times more (2.27.6). It is the same as Nārāyaṇa-āśrama.

NĪṢĀDA : It is a name of the people. The BVP. refers to the word Nīṣādādhipati (3.36.2). It is the country that extends from the boundary of Jhalwar and Khandesh in the Vindhya and the Satpura ranges (Law B. C., op. cit., p. 292).

NETRASAROVARA : It is a name of lake. Śiva lamented for separation of Satī and hence from the tears of Śiva's eyes, a sarovara became there. It was two Yojanas long and was situated on the Śataśṛṅga mountain (4.43.20-23).

NANDAKA : It seems to be a name of people. It is referred to in the BVP (4.86.72).

NANDANAKĀNANA : It is a forest. It is referred to in the BVP (4.59.28). It can be identified with the mythical Nandanavana in heaven.

NYAGRODHADVĪPA : It is a dvīpa. Brahmā created it (1.7.6).

PUṢKARA : It is a city. Brahmā gave the BVP to Dharma in the Puṣkara (1.1.63). It is the modern Pokha, seven miles north of Ajmer (Law B. C., op. cit., p. 327).

PRAYĀGA : It is a city. Viśvakarman dallied with Ghṛtāci at Prayāga (1.10.70). It is the modern Prayag a part of Allahabad.

PADMĀVATĪ : It is a river. Lakṣmī became Padmāvati river on the earth because of Gaṅgā's curse (2.6.58). It is a river in Bengal (Sircar D. C., op. cit., p. 123).

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PUṢPABHADRA : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP. (2.16.145).

PAMPĀ : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP. (2.64.59). It is a tributary of the river Tungabhadra (Law B. C., op. cit., p. 292).

PANASĀ : It seems to be a river. It is referred to in the BVP. (3.28.26).

PĀṆḌYADEŚA : It is a country. The BVP. refers to the word Pāṇḍyadeśa (4.11.7). The Pāṇḍya country is the modern Madurai—Ramanathapuram area. (Sircar D. C., op. cit. p. 29).

PAÑCAVAṬĪ : It is a name of a forest. It is referred to in the BVP (4.116.4). It was on the bank of the modern Godavari river (Law B. C., op. cit., p. 292).

PLAKṢADVĪPA : It is a dvīpa. It was created by Brahmā (1.7.6). It is a mythological dvīpa (Vide for details Muzafar Ali, The geography of the Purāṇas, p. 10., 33, 34, 39, 41, 42).

PAUṢKARADVĪPA : It is a dvīpa. It was created by Brahmā (1.7.6). It is a mythological dvīpa (Vide for details muzafar Ali, op. cit.).

PETHARA : It is a country. Bhīṣmaka sent his messenger to Pethara (4.105.55).

PULAHĀŚRAMA : It is a name of a holy place. The BVP. states that amongst all āśramas the Pulahāśrama is the best (4.17.50).

RAIVATA : It is a mountain. It is referred to in the BVP. (3.28.28). It is the modern Giranar Mountain in Saurashtra (Pandit Ram Gopal, op. cit., ap. p. 27).

RATNAPARVATA : It is a mountain. It is referred to in the BVP. (4.86.80).

RĀṢṬRIYA : It is a name of people. It is referred to in the BVP (3.36.12). It may correspond to the Rāḍha and the province of Rāḍha seems to have comprised the modern districts of Hooghly, Howrah, Burdwan, Bankura and major portions of Midnapur (Law B. C., op. cit., p. 254).

RĀMEŚVARA : It is a holy place. If one sees an image of god at Rāmeśvara on the full moon day of Āṣāḍha, one has not to be born again (4.76.38). It is the modern Rameshvar.

RĀṬA : It is a name of country. Bhīṣmaka sent his messenger to the Rāṭa (4.105.55). It corresponds to the Rāḍha. For identification of Rāḍha see Rāṣṭriya.

SIDDHĀŚRAMA : It is a name of a holy place. According to the BVP it is situated on the bank of the river Puśpa-bhadra. It is on the east of the western sea, west of the Malaya mountain, north of the Śrīśaila and South of the Gandhamādana mountain. It is the Āśrama of Kapila and its another name is Siddhakṣetra (2.18.16-18). According to the Rāmāyaṇa (Kīṣkindhākāṇḍa Ch. 43), it is said to have been situated on the Himalayas between the Kancanajangha and the Dhavalagiri on the bank of the river Mandākinī. According to others it is at Buxar in the district of Sahabad (Law B. C., op. cit., p. 127).

SARASVATĪ : It is a river. The goddess Sarasvatī became a river on the earth because of Gangā's curse (2.7.4). It is the modern Sarasvatī in Gujarat.

ŚĀKADVĪPA : It is a dvīpa. Brahmā created it (1.7.6.). It is a mythological dvīpa. There are differences of opinion about its identification. (Vide Buddha Prakash "Studies in Puranic geography and Ethnography. Purāṇa Vol. III No. II, July 1961, pp. 253).

SITĀ : It is a name of a river. One should remember it at the time of taking a bath (1.26.45). V.S. Agrawala Opines that it is the Yarkand river in Chinese Turkesta (India as known to Pāṇini pp. 47, 68).

SURASAMUDRA : It is a name of an ocean. Brahmā created it (1.7.5). It is a mythological ocean. (Vide Rai Krishнадas "Purāṇic geography of the Caturdvīpas" Purāṇa Vol. I No. IIs Feb. 1960, pp. 202 ff.)

SARPISSAMUDRA : It is a name of an ocean. It was created by Brahmā (1.7.5). It is a mythological ocean (Cf. Muzafar Ali, op. cit.).

SINDHU : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP (1.26.66). It is the modern Sindhu-Indus-now in Pakistan.

SVARNAREKHĀ : It is a river. One should utter the name of Svarṇarekhā at the time of taking the bath—(1.26.68). It

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may be identified with the modern Sonarekha river in Junagarh district, Saurashtra.

SUBHAGĀ : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP (1.26.68).

SUPRASANNĀ : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP (1.26.69).

ŚVETAGĀṆGĀ : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP (2.64.59).

SARAYŪ : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP (2.28.26).

This river joins the Ganges in the district of Chapra, Bihar At the north-west corner of the district of Bahraich it receives a tributary from the north east which goes by the Sarayū (Law B. C. op. cit. p. 120).

SUMERU : It is a mountain. Brahmā created it (1.7.4). It is the same as the Sineru or the mount Meru which is identical with the Rudra-Himalaya in Garhwal (Law B. C., op. cit., pp. 111, 129).

SUVELA : It is a mountain. It was created by Brahmā (1.7.4). It is a mythical mountain (Sircar D.C., op. cit., p. 13).

SVAYAMPRABHĀ : It is a river. Śiva gave a mantra of Kṛṣṇa to Paraśurāma on the bank of the river Svayamprabhā (3.31.14).

SAURĀṢṬRA : It is a name of country. Bhīṣmaka sent his messenger to the Saurāṣṭra (4.105.55). It is the modern Saurashtra.

SAUMYA : It seems to be a name of people. It is referred to in the BVP (3.36.13). If Saumya is taken as one of the well-known nine divisions of Bharatavarsa, it may refer to Siam (Kantawala S. G., op. cit., p. 311),

SŪRYASUTĀ : It is a river. It is referred to in the BVP (4.27.3). It the modern Tapti or Tapi which flows into the Arabian sea (Sircar D. C. op. cit. p. 50).

SIDDHAPĪṬHA : It is name of a holy place. Śiva wandered from place to place on the earth with the dead body of Satī and wherever a part of the dead body of Satī fell down, there became a pīṭha which came to be considered Siddhapīṭha (4.36.94, 4.43.26).

SVARṆADĪ : It is a river. Pārvatī practised penance on the bank of the river Svarṇadī (4.39.63). This refers to the Ganges.

ŚIVĀ : It seems to be a name of a river. It is referred to in the BVP (1.26.68).

ŚĀNTĀ : It seems to be a river. It is referred to in the BVP (1.26.69).

ŚRĪŚAILA : It is a mountain. It is referred to in the BVP (3.28.28). This is a lofty rock over-hanging the river Krishna in the Kurnool district (Law B.C., op. cit., p. 189).

ŚATAŚRṆGA : It is a mountain. It is referred to in the BVP (4.46.23). It is in the Garhwal district in U. P. (Pandit Ram Gopal, op. cit., Ap. P. 31).

ŚATAHRDĀ : It is a river. The BVP refers to it (2.64.60).

ŚARAVATĪ : It is a river in 4.129.47.

ŚOṆITAPURA : It is a name of City. Bāṇāsura was the king of Śoṇitapura and Koṭṭari was the village goddess of the Śoṇitapura (4.115.14). It is the modern Sohagpur on the central Railway 30 miles away from Itarsi (Kalyāṇa Tīrthanka p. 218 and Pandit Ram Gopal, op. cit., Ap. p. 32).

TĀRAKĀPĪṬHA : It is a name of a holy place. Bṛhaspati went to the Tārakāpīṭha to see the goddess Tārā (4.47.14).

UDAYĀCALA : It is a mountain. It was created by Brahmā (1.7.4). It is a mythical mountain (Vide for various hills named as Udayagiri, Kantawala S. G., op. cit., p. 399).

VIŚVAKAYĀ : It seems to be a river. One should remember it at the time of taking the bath (1.26.68).

VIPĀŚĀ : It seems to be a river. It is referred to in the BVP (2.64.60). It is the modern Beas, a tributary of the Indus (Sircar D.C., Op. Cit., PP. 185-186).

VIRAJĀ : It is a river. The Gopī Virajā was transformed into the river Virajā due to the fear of Rādhā (4.3.2). It is a mythical river.

VARĀHA : It seems to be a holy place. It is referred to in the BVP (3.28.28). According to B.C. Law this was a natural cave near Bombay (Op. Cit. P. 25). While according to

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others it is a Varāhakṣetra in Nepal (Kalyāṇīa Tirthāṅka P. 185).

VIDARBHA : It is a name of a country. Bhīṣmaka was the king of the Vidarbha (4.105.1). It is the modern Berar (Law B. C., Op. Cit., P. 341).

VR̥NDĀVANA : It is a forest. The BVP gives the following explanation of the name Vṛndāvana : the name of Rādhā is Vṛndā and Rādhā was the deity of that, Vana hence it is called Vṛndāvana (4.17.15.18). According to another version a gopī named Vṛndā practised penance there, hence it was called Vṛndāvana (4.17.3). According to the BVP there were other 33 Vanas or Upavanas in the Vṛndāvana and they are as follows :—

Bhāṇḍīra, Śrī, Kadamba, Tulasī, Kuṇḍa, Campaka, Nimba, Madhu, Jambīra, Nālikera, Pūga, Kadalī, Badarī, Vilva, Nāringa, Aśvattha, Vaṁśa, Dāḍima, Mandāra, Tāla, Cūta, Ketakī, Aśoka, Kharjūra, Āmrātaka, Jambū Sāla, Kanṭaka, Padma, Jāti, Nyagrodha, Śrīkhaṇḍa, Kesara (4.28.66-71). It is the modern Vraja area located near the Mathurā Vṛndāvana and there is also a small holy village Vṛndāvana by name near Mathura (Cf. Kalyāṇa Tirthāṅka PP. 100 ff).

VĪRENDRA : It is a name of people. It is referred to in the BVP (3.36.12). It is the modern Malde-Rajshani-Bogra region (Sircar D. C., Op. Cit., P. 114).

VAṆGA : It is a name of a country. Bhīṣmaka sent his messenger to the Vaṅga (4.105.55). It is the modern Bhagalpur and Monghyr region of Bihar (Sircar D.C., Op. Cit., PP. 27 ff).

VRAJA : It is a name of place. Nanda is called Vrajarāja (4.65.6). It is the modern Vṛndavan area.

VALKALA : It seems to be a name of country. Bhīṣmaka sent his messenger to be Valkala (4.105.55)

VIRĀṬA : It is a country. Bhīṣmaka sent his messenger to the Virāṭa (4.105.56). It is the modern Jaipur-Alwar-Bharatpur region of Rajasthan (Cf. Sircar D.C., Op. Cit., P. 203).

YAMUNĀ : It is a river, Kālīya lived on the bank of the river Yamunā (4.19.1). Its another name is Kālindī (1.26.43). It is the modern Jumna.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CONTENTS-ANALYSIS FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF A PURĀṆIC TEXT

(Shown by means of the contents of analysis of the Dwarf-
legend of the Padma-purāṇa)

By

G.C. TRIPATHI

[पुराणानां पाठसमीक्षात्मक-संशोधित-संस्करणानां निर्माणाय
तेष्वागतानां केषांचिद् आख्यानानां प्रकरणानां वा विश्लेषणात्मकस्य
तुलनात्मकस्य चाध्ययनस्य आवश्यकता महत्त्वं चास्मिन् निबन्धे प्रदर्शितम्।
उदाहरणरूपेणात्र पद्मपुराणस्य सृष्टिखण्डे (अ० ३०) वर्णितस्य वामना-
ख्यानस्य विश्लेषणं कृत्वा तस्य विविधा उपवृंहणभूमयः प्रक्षेपस्थलानि
च प्रदर्शितानि। पद्मपुराणोक्ते वामनाख्याने असुरस्य नाम वाष्कलिर्वर्तते।
विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणे (१.२२) अस्याख्यानस्य संक्षिप्तरूपं वर्तते।
असुरस्य वाष्कलिर्नाम न कस्मिंश्चिदपि अन्यस्मिन् पुराणे वर्तते।
लेखकस्य मते पद्मपुराणस्येदं 'वामन-वाष्कलि' आख्यानं 'वामन-बलि'
आख्यानाद् भिन्नमेव, परन्तु इमे द्वेऽपि आख्याने परस्परम् अन्योन्येन
प्रभाविते इत्यपि अत्र प्रदर्शितम् लेखकमहोदयेन।]

The most common and accepted way of determining the original text of a work is based on the method of comparing the available manuscripts with one another and eliminating the interpolated passages. By deleting the spurious readings and finding the most probable ones, one arrives at a text which has served as the model for further copying and re-copying. Here ends the main task of an editor. Of course, he can still make some emendations in the text on the basis of its citations in other texts and its translations if any.

If the text is a composition of a single author, it is the farthest extent to which we can go. But if the given work owes its origin to more than one author or to more than one source, in other words, if it is more or less a composite work, as the Purāṇas decidedly are, we can go further and by applying the canons of textual criticism peel out the different layers of its gradual growth. Sometimes it is also possible to determine the reasons which led to such a growth.

There can be two ways of showing the gradual growth of a compiled text like that of a Purāṇa in its historical perspective. The first is to collate, compare and contrast the different versions and to draw out the portion common to all, viz. the original one, a method followed by W. Kirfel in his '*Purāṇa-pañcalakṣaṇam*' to arrive at the 'kernel' or the text which formed the basis of all the versions. The other method which is much more interesting in the case of a Purāṇic text is to analyse a particular text or legend as regards its contents, set it against the similar passages in other Purāṇas and try to get a logical sequence of the development of the given text mainly on the basis of the different motifs used in the legend. And this is exactly what I propose to illustrate in the following pages in brief.

I shall examine the text of a legend which is so well known to all of us, the legend of the Dwarf-incarnation of Viṣṇu. The text has been taken from the Padma, one of the most famous and important Purāṇas. The reason for choosing this very version of the Dwarf-legend is that it presents certain traits which are normally not found in other versions of the story; the most striking point being the name of the hero or the Demon-king whom Viṣṇu deceives. Contrary to all other versions and popular beliefs, the demon is called here *Vāṣṭkali* (and not *Bali*), the name which does not appear anywhere else.

Let me first give a summary of the legend as it is contained in the Padma Purāṇa (Śrīṣṭikhaṇḍa, Chapter 30).¹ A short resume of this version is preserved for us in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa also (Section I, Chapter 22). This resume would not have been of any value for us, had not unfortunately the text of Padma-version been in a corrupt state. The Viṣṇudharmottara proves to be of great asset to us in reconstructing and understanding the corrupt text of Padma-Purāṇa.

Contents of the story

(Padma-Purāṇa, Śrīṣṭikhaṇḍa, Ch 30)

The story commences with the question of Bhīṣma to Pulastya. Bhīṣma wants to know to why Viṣṇu set out (three) steps from

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1. The references are from the Padma-Purāṇa, Veṅkaṭeśvara Edition, Bombay.

Yajñaparvata, which demon was bound by him with fetters and why he who lives in Vaikuṇṭha came to the earth and there too to Puṣkarakṣetra? (1-8). Pulastya narrates the story and tells Bhīṣma that this 'setting of step' was done by Viṣṇu in older times, in the Kṛtayuga, for the benefit of gods. As the fate would have it, the demons bring the heaven under their control after they have conquered the gods. Vāṣkali, the king of the demons, makes the demons relish the various offerings offered in the sacrifices (9-12ab).

Indra is very much worried about the sorry state of affairs. Having no hope for his life, he goes to Brahmā and complains to him that the demon Vāṣkali has become dangerous through his (Brahmā's) boon. Brahmā should now think of a device which could bring peace to the world (12cd-21).

In the verses 22-25 Indra delivers a speech on ethical principles in which he condemns selfishness in general. He is of the opinion that one should do the thousand fold in return to an act of kindness (22-25).

The verses 25 and 27 do not seem to make much sense. In 28-30 he describes the plight of the world once again and remarks that the Vedic cult has vanished from the earth and that no body could hear the Vedic *mantra* now (28-30).

Brahmā agrees with Indra's opinion that the demon has become haughty and mischievous by his boon. He sinks himself in deep meditation and calls for Viṣṇu. When Viṣṇu comes, he (Brahmā) reminds him of his duty to relieve the world of its miseries and to protect it (31-38).

Viṣṇu says that the demon has become invincible and invulnerable. He should, therefore, be outwitted by some trick. He declares that he would assume the shape of a dwarf. After he (Viṣṇu) has taken the land from him, he would bind him (Vāṣkali) with fetters and send him to the under-world. Afterwards he would destroy him taking the form of a boar, i.e. in the Varāha-incarnation (39-45ab.).

In due course of time, Viṣṇu comes into the womb of Aditi. There arise formidable omens. Then on Vāmana's birth cool breeze, full of *mālatī* fragrance blows. As soon as he is born gods are pleased (45cd-49).

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When Viṣṇu comes into the womb of Aditi she is always tired. Her abdomen is heavy and she can move but very slowly. All the living beings get their desires fulfilled at this time (50-52ab).

While Viṣṇu is in the womb, malicious feeling (*drohabuddhi*) grows in the heart of Aditi. "Traversing (the earth) alone would not do. I would traverse the whole heaven. I will throw a heap of arrows and maces on the demons." (so) comes out there the voice suddenly (53-58).

Viṣṇu is born. The gods, Gandharvas, nymphs and ascetics are happy. The nymphs dance and celebrate the occasion (59-77).

Vāmana goes along with Indra to the palace of Vāṣkali. The city is extremely beautiful. It has neat houses, elegant roads, various elephants, horses of good breed and skilful prostitutes. The demons recite the Vedas and the air is full of the sacred sacrificial smoke. Vāṣkali knows the *dharma* and speaks the truth. He is conversant with the Vedas and Vedāṅgas. He has a bodily lustre resembling the sun. No one suffers from any disease in his kingdom and die of premature death (98-99).

When the demons see Indra coming to the palace with only a small Brāhmaṇa boy, they are much astonished and report it to their king. Vāṣkali lets the guests conducted into the palace with great honour. He casts a glance full of love over them, bows himself and remarks that this is a very fortunate day for him. He embraces Indra and asks him the reason of his coming over there (100-119).

Indra first praises the prosperity of Vāṣkali's kingdom and his management. He introduces now the Vāmana-Viṣṇu to him and says that this Brāhmaṇa student, born in the family of Kaśyapa has requested him for only three steps of land. But since he has now lost every thing to Vāṣkali, let the king of the demons comply with the request of the Brāhmaṇa student (117-129).

Vāṣkali praises the greatness of Indra in a friendly manner. He is of the opinion that Indra has come there only to oblige him and to make him famous in the world. As far as the request of the Brāhmaṇa-student is concerned, he deems it to be an insult to himself to give the Brāhmaṇa such a little amount of a thing. He would willingly and gladly give the boy the whole of the earth and to Indra the Kingdom of heaven (130-147 ab).

At this juncture Śukra interrupts Vāṣkali. He exposes the identity of Vāmana and says that the dwarf is Viṣṇu himself who has assumed this deceptive form through his *māyā*. He reminds Vāṣkali that Viṣṇu has slain his father, mother and other relatives and thinks that he is now bent upon destroying Vāṣkali. His kingdom would be taken away from him and he would be bound with fetters (147cd-156).

Vāṣkali replies very submissively to his teacher and maintains that nothing is undonatable for him to the person who comes to him and begs, even though he may be his strongest foe. The highest present to someone is the present of one's life which he would readily give to Viṣṇu (157-166ab).

He requests Indra once again to ask for something more. But since Indra would not opt for anything else, king Vāṣkali lifts the *kamaṇḍalu* and pours the *saṁkalpa* water on the palm of Vāmana with the words: "May Viṣṇu be pleased with me" (167cd-170ab).

Viṣṇu gives up his dwarfish form immediately and assumes an all-pervading form. He comes to *Tajñāparvata* and standing there sets his first step on the sun. The second one falls on the polar star. With the third step he hits against the shell of the *Brahmāṇḍa* or the material layer covering the universe. A hole is created there, through which streams of water gush in. Washing the foot of Viṣṇu it inundates the *Dhruva* and *Sūryaloka* and falls on *Tajñāparvata* whence it flows into the *Puṣkara* lake².

The footprints of Viṣṇu can still be seen on the *Tajñāparvata*. One who has the *darśana* of it acquires the merit of performing an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice (177-178).

Viṣṇu now demands of Vāṣkali of the fulfilment of the promise he has made. Vāṣkali can not say a word. For him answers Śukra: "We have given you all that *you* have created without concealing or keeping anything for us. Wherefrom could we get more?" (179-188).

This renders Viṣṇu silent. He asks Vāṣkali to opt for a *vara*. Vāṣkali would have solely the *bhakti* of Viṣṇu. He further wishes to be killed by him (189-192).

2. This lake is situated some 10 km. away from Ajmer Rly. Station.

Viṣṇu advises him to go to the Śvetadvīpa, an island so dear to the devotees of Viṣṇu. He assures him that he would kill him in next *yuga* in a combat, assuming the form of a boar (Varāha) on the occasion when he would penetrate in the ocean to raise the earth and when Vāṣkali would attack him (192cd-193).

Viṣṇu disappears. The truthful demon hands over the world to the gods (194-196).

The arrangement of the text and the interpolations

From this short survey of the contents of the story it may be clear that this version contains many a redundant and contradictory statements. It is therefore necessary to examine the text more closely and to exclude the superfluous portions

1. The verses 22-27, first of all, do not seem to fit in the context. The significance of the general ethical lecture of Indra remains vague. In verse 22 begins something quite new which is not correlated with verse 21. After six verses Indra says: "You yourself can see the world as I have described to you". But in the śloka just preceding he rather speaks on a theme pertaining to morality and ethics. The picture of the present situation of the world comes only in the following verses i.e. 28-30. These six verses are, therefore, not only out of place but also superfluous. The line 28ab must have been preceded by a comprehensive description of the injustice of Vāṣkali etc. But if no such description existed what is rather unlikely and Indra spoke only the verses 18-21 and 28-30, the order of the verses must be reversed because the verses 19cd and 20 seem to constitute the conclusion:

"I have thus narrated you the misdeeds of Vāṣkali. You must now take immediate steps against him as you are the Father of the world. Think of some measure for the peace in the world".

A possibility to explain this reversed order of the verses could be that the verses 28-30 are a doublet to 18-21. This doublet was an older piece of text which was incorporated by the interpolator in the main text, because it contained the description of the negligence of sciences which the interpolator thought to be of importance. The concluding line of this text-piece was however 28ab (i.e. it was in the place of 30cd). This line was later placed in the beginning of the doublet in order to glue both the texts

(18-21, 21-30) together. The verses 22-27 were interpolated later on.

2. A great contradiction in our text can be pointed out here. The verses 28 and 29 tell that the Vedas are no more recited under the rule of Vāṣkali. Other sciences like *vārta* and *daṇḍanīti* have also vanished from the earth. The *vaṣaṭkāra* is no more to be heard, etc. etc. But after about 60 verses the author narrates with great enthusiasm how the respectful (or 'old' *vrddha*) demons recite the Vedas. Vāṣkali is well-versed not only in the Vedas but also in the Vedāṅgas and regularly performs sacrifices. It means that the injustice of which Vāṣkali is accused does not hold good.

It is striking that the character of Vāṣkali is not homogeneously depicted throughout. In the verses 1-44 he is a great demon whose activities are to be curbed in the wider interest of the world. But in the late half, i.e. in the verses 45-196 he is presented as a noble, righteous, extremely courteous and generous king. He is even prepared to present his whole empire most willingly to Indra and Vāmana. Under these circumstances Viṣṇu actually did not have any need to resort to his cunning trick. Further, in verse 44 he swears that he would slay the demon as a Boar. This slaying is thought of as a punishment for his several transgressions. But in 191 this motif is found with a very different colouring. Here the demon opts for unshakable *Bhakti*, and his death from the hands of Viṣṇu as boon, because such a death leads to the best heavenly *lokas*. It shows that the story has been retouched by Viṣṇunites later on.

In 43cd the binding of the demon with fetters and his banishment to underworld is mentioned. But, strangely enough, Vāṣkali is neither bound with fetters nor sent to underworld. Viṣṇu rather advises him to go to *Śvetadvīpa*, another evidence of interpolation in the latter half (45-196) by the followers of Viṣṇuism.

3. The text piece 45cd-77 is a very problematic and confused one. The text is made up of several patches of ślokas. In 48cd and 49ab Viṣṇu is already born. In śloka 50 the pregnant stage of Aditi is described and in 51 he comes in the womb of Aditi. In 53cd Viṣṇu again enters the womb of Aditi and there arises a '*drohabuddhi*' in the the heart of Aditi (?). Why does Viṣṇu

boasts of his prowess and says that he would smite the demons with arrows, maces etc. when in the course of the story there arises no occasion of a war ? And as if it were not enough, once more we are told in 62 and 63 that Viṣṇu has gone into the womb of Aditi.

Barring the nine verses spoken by Aditi (Viṣṇu ?) with 'drohabuddhi' (i.e. 53cd-62ab), which are perhaps a consequence of some disorder in the arrangement in the leaves, the rest of the text seems to contain at least two different versions mixed up through some mistake. The first version presumably contained verses 39-43, 44 (?), 45, 47, 50, 48, 49, 70cd, (?) and the second one; 62cd, 63ab, 63cd (?), 64-68, 70ab, 70cd (?).

But on further investigation one finds it rather doubtful that description of the birth of Vāmana should belong to the original plot of the legend at all. Viṣṇu neither gives a hint of this in the course of his talk with Brahmā (39-44). He would simply change himself into a dwarf and go with Indra to the demon. Aditi does not come into the picture at all. It should actually not be regarded as an 'avatāra' (incarnation), but a 'prādurbhāva' (manifestation, appearance). If we would examine other versions of the legend of Vāmana we shall find that where ever Viṣṇu is born of Aditi, it is she of the couple who takes the initiative. She performs either penance or some *vrata* to get Viṣṇu as her son.³ But here she does not even know that Viṣṇu is going to be born to her. That Viṣṇu, according to this particular version, did not have to undergo a birth is further corroborated by the short summary of this version in the Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa, which states clearly that after declaring his plan to Indra and Brahmā Viṣṇu immediately changed himself into a dwarf and set out to the place of Vāṣkali along with Indra :

devo'pi vāmano bhūtvā prayāto yatra Vāṣkalīḥ (11cd)

The interpolation of the description of the birth of Viṣṇu seems to have been caused by the influences of several parallel versions in which such birth actually takes place and is justified for the development of the story. The other reason seems to be the

3. Cf. for example: Matsya-P. Ch. 244 (5-34), Bhāgavata-P. VIII. Ch. 16, 17, 18 (1-12); Harivaṃśa III. 69 (7,8).

statement of Indra while introducing Vāmana to Vāṣkali that "this boy is born in the family of Kaśyapa". But as every other sentence of the statement of Indra is simply a part of a well planned trick and not a piece of truth, I would not regard it as an evidence showing that the birth of Vāmana must have constituted an integral part of the legend. Kaśyapa being the mythical father of not only all gods and human beings, but also demons, animals birds etc., almost anybody could trace his origin from him and he would be partially speaking truth.

4. There are some other interpolations in the texts which have been added obviously, when the story had taken its final shape. To this category belong e.g. the importance of seeing and worshipping the holy river Gaṅgā... (1777-183), and the footprints of Viṣṇu on Yajñapārvata in Puṣkara, etc.

Interpretation of the Legend

1—The demon Vāṣkali and his original character:

The demon Vāṣkali is mentioned only here in the whole of the Purāṇic literature. As we now know that he has been mainly described as a Viṣṇu-devotee, it will be of interest to determine his original personality. In verse 44, Viṣṇu proclaims that he would destroy the demon in his Boar-Incarnation. It is interesting that this trait could not be maintained throughout in the second portion of the legend where, though a great Viṣṇu-devotee living on Śvetadvīpa, he would attack Viṣṇu and consequently be killed by him. The author wants to assure us that this happens only as Viṣṇu wants to award him salvation. But we should remember that it is not the normal way for a Bhakta to attain mokṣa. It is, therefore, most probable that this trait is a reminiscent of the 'older' personality of Vāṣkali. In older times he was perhaps the demon who challenged Viṣṇu in his Boar-Incarnation and indulged in fight. He is named as Hiraṇyākṣa who is a new creation of the author of the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa on the lines of Hiraṇyakaśipu. The older Purāṇas mention Hiraṇyakaśipu but never speak of his brother Hiraṇyākṣa. In fact the Boar-Incarnation is originally connected only with the uplifting of the earth and it does not have to do anything with the killing of any particular demon. The conception is that Viṣṇu must kill someone in his

every incarnation ('vināśāya ca duṣkṛtām'-Gītā). So Vāṣkṛi is brought in association with him, though not very reasonably. In the Vāmana-Legend of the Brāhmaṇas Viṣṇu has to outwit a whole group of demons and bring the earth back to the possession of gods. But in the epics the demons emerge no more as a collective force. They are individualised. One particular mighty demon is, therefore, to be found from whom Viṣṇu should regain the kingdom of the earth. Vāṣkali was found to be suitable for this through a simple logic. The hostility of Vāṣkali towards Viṣṇu in this Boar-Incarnation was not quite understandable. Nobody knew why he did it. One is, therefore, driven automatically to the conclusion that Vāṣkali nursed some ill feeling towards Viṣṇu due to some wrong done to him by Viṣṇu previously. Vāṣkali plays the part of the demon-king in the Vāmana-legend in which Viṣṇu deprives him of his vast kingdom and banishes him to pātāla where he attacks Viṣṇu in his later incarnation to take revenge. But as the mythology grows, one requires two different demons for Vāmana and Varāha incarnations, as Vāṣkali and Bali become great Viṣṇu-bhaktas in course of development. The creation of Hiraṇyākṣa in the Bhāgavata-P. is called for also due to the reason that the author wants to describe the further development of his Jaya-Vijaya legend in which these two gatekeepers of Viṣṇu are cursed by the Devarṣis Sanaka, Sanātana, etc. to be born on earth and to be slain by Viṣṇu himself.

Attention may also be drawn to the statement of Śukra in his warning to Vāṣkali that Viṣṇu has eradicated the family of Vāṣkali—he has killed his father and mother. But in this very legend we are told at the beginning that Vāṣkali is the son of Kaśyapa and Diti (In fact, in later mythology all demons are said to be the offsprings of these two), and in no Purāṇa Viṣṇu is mentioned as slaying Ṛṣi Kaśyapa (who is, by the way, his own father in his Dwarf Incarnation) and Diti. It all proves that the statement of Śukra was true of Vāṣkali in case of his previous personality, i.e., when he was not associated with this legend and had not been made the son of Kaśyapa and Diti. This also proves at the same time that Vāṣkali is totally different from Bali who is the son of Virocana and the grandson of Prahlāda and not the same demon under a different name.

Influence of the parallel Bali-Versions

Since the Bali-version of the Vāmana-legend was considered to be the normal version of the legend, it is but natural that the less known Vāṣkali version should get influenced by it. One of such influences is the proclamation of Viṣṇu in the beginning of the story that he would bind Vāṣkali with fetters. Whereas in fact no such event takes place afterwards in the story. Indeed, one may well ask why Vāṣkali should be subjected to this punishment at all when he has entirely fulfilled the desire of Viṣṇu so willingly? One cannot understand it unless one examines the character of Bali from its very beginning. In several older passages of Mahābhārata,⁴ Bali is a dangerous demon who fights against Indra, but is defeated by him and bound with fetters and left in a cave. When Bali was introduced in the Vāmana-legend and raised to the status of an honorable Viṣṇu-bhākta, this older trait of his character could preserve itself through several modifications. And as the people forgot about the original demonical nature of Bali, it became absolutely necessary to get account for his being bound with fetters by Viṣṇu which was done by maintaining that Bali could not keep his promise as Viṣṇu traversed the whole universe with only two steps.⁵ But if Vāṣkali's bondage is also hinted at, though it does not take place, it is simply due to an overlapping with Bali version.

Influence of Vāṣkali Version over Bali-Version

An interesting novelty of Padma-P. is how it describes the formation of Puṣkara lake with the water which comes down from above the universal egg (brahmāṇḍa) through a hole hit open by Viṣṇu with his toe. Other Viṣṇuite Purāṇas take over this motif, buckled it into the Vāmana legend and try to explain the origin of Gaṅgā through it which, is so closely related with Viṣṇu-cult.⁶ They evidently do not have any interest in glorifying Puṣkara which is sacred to Brahmā. That the motif of creating a hole in the shell of *brahmāṇḍa* can originally belong only to Vāṣkali version

4. Cf. Aranyaparva 13.27; Śānti 91.21, 22.218.13,14; Śālya 30.8; Śānti 220.18, 111-114.

5. Cf. Bhāgavata-P. VIII. 20.33.34.

6. Cf e.g. Kūrma-P. (G. Edn.) I, 16.53-57.

is corroborated by the fact hinted in this text of Padma-P. Viṣṇu sets his steps *vertically*, beginning from the Yajñaparvata and making halts at the sun and polar star etc., whereas in almost all Bāli-versions he is described as traversing *horizontally* covering the earth with his first and the upper loka with his second step, etc.

But when in Padma-P. the heavenly waters which have just now flown into the Puṣkara lake, take the shape of Gaṅgā (verse 182), it clearly proves that these verses are much late interpolations and that both the versions have reciprocally influenced each other before attaining their final form.

(The History of the text and the different Layers of its formation

We can now peel out the different layers of the text under consideration and trace the history of its development through various stages. The chronological order of various phases of the legend contained in Padma-P. are as follows :

1. The prehistory of Vāṣkali

Vāṣkali is malicious demon. He lives in Pātāla and attacks Viṣṇu when he comes there in order to raise the earth sunk deep during *mahāpralaya*. He is consequently killed by Viṣṇu in a combat.

2a. The original "Vāṣkali-version"

The demon Vāṣkali is introduced in the Trivikrama-myth i.e. the myth of Viṣṇu setting his three steps in its Vedic and Brahmanic form.⁷ The group of demons is replaced by Vāṣkali, who is made the son of Kaśyapa and Diti. Viṣṇu goes as a dwarf along with Indra, as in Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, to this demon who has supernatural powers, thanks to a boon of Brāhmā, and who can not be conquered in a combat. Indra begs three steps of land from him for Vāmana and Vāmana turning into a giant traverses the whole universe by setting his steps vertically. The demon is sent to the underworlds, where he is killed by the Boar-Viṣṇu.

7. Cf. Ṛgveda I. 22. 17; I. 155. 4, 5. and Taittirīya Samhitā VI. 2. 4; Śatapatha-Brāhm. I. 1.2.13; V. 2.6. I.2.5.1-7; Maitrāyaṇī. Samhitā III 7.9. etc. etc.

2b. Origin of Puṣkara

When the story is taken into Padma-p. the largest portion of which has been written in the Puṣkara kṣetra, the editor has the ingenious idea of letting the Puṣkara lake originate through the waters which have had the privilege of washing the foot of Lord Viṣṇu. The very question of Bhīṣma to Pulastya in the beginning of the story—why Viṣṇu came to earth and just in Puṣkara kṣetra ?—shows clearly that the redactor has had the aim of glorifying Puṣkara before him from the very beginning.

3. Outside Influences

At this stage the story begins to get influenced from outside, especially by the parallel versions of the Vāmana legend, the one having Bali for its hero. The mention of the bondage of Vāṣkali (as well as the warning of Śukra) belong to this period. The reference to the killing of the parents of Vāṣkali is revived perhaps once again in order to let the warning of Śukra carry more weight.

4. Viṣṇuite Influence

In the fourth stage of development of the story, or at least some part of it, it is rewritten to suit the needs of Viṣṇu-devotees. The demon Vāṣkali becomes great Bhakta devoted to Viṣṇu.

The original Vāṣkali version of the legend ends here.

5. Interpolations

Now follow various interpolations, which can be eliminated in a critical edition of text. The most important of such spurious passages are (a) the poetical description of the pregnant stage of Aditi, (b) the birth of Vāmana and the description of Gaṅgā and the merit achieved by performing the darśana of the footprints of Viṣṇu. The ethical lecture of Indra is perhaps an outcome of some misunderstanding caused by the wrong placement of folios in the Ms.

Conclusion

It is clear from the above analysis that thorough examination of the different motifs of a legend, their comparison with similar motifs in other versions of the legend and the interpretation of different events mentioned in a legend can form a valuable basis to determine the original form of a text and its gradual

growth. The task of a true investigator of Purāṇas does not end with preparing the 'critical' editions but by presenting to the world of scholars the whole history of the development of a text, by laying bare the different stages in the formation of the text till it assumed the present form. The analysis of Purāṇic text does not have purely an academic interest; in fact, its main interest lies in the fact that it sheds enormous sidelight on the evolution of Hinduism itself. I am confident that if Purāṇa-texts are analysed properly, several hitherto unknown links of development of Hinduism will unfold themselves. Due to the peculiar nature of the Purāṇas where the original 'kernel' has experienced a thoroughgoing change by means of oral as well as written traditions such studies may further be helpful in the event of preparing the critical editions themselves.

KṚTYĀ

BY

S. K. LAL

[वेदेषु पुराणेषु महाभारते च कृत्याया वर्णनं बहुशः प्राप्यते । आथर्वणिकेऽभिचारकर्मणि कृत्यायाः प्राधान्यं दृश्यते । कृत्यायाः प्रयोगः शत्रूणां तेषां संबन्धनां चाहिताय विनाशाय वा तथा आत्मवर्गस्य रक्षार्थं च क्रियते । कृत्यायाः समुत्पत्त्यर्थं विविधविधिविधानं च आथर्वणिके कौशिकसूत्रे प्राप्यते यस्मिन् विविधवस्तूनां स्थानानाञ्चोपयोगः वर्णितः । महाभारते पुराणेषु च क्रुद्धैर्महर्षिभिः नैकवारं परेषां विनाशाय कृत्या समुत्पादिता । दुर्वाससा अम्बरीषविनाशार्थं कृत्योत्पादनं प्रसिद्धमेव । अत्र लेखकेन कृत्याविषये साङ्गोपाङ्गं विचारः कृतः ।]

Kṛtyā denotes black magic and witchcraft, and she is also personified as a female fiend of magic and witchcraft. In the *Atharva-veda* which contains a few hymns intended for counteracting her evil working and directing her against one's enemies, she is represented as having been fashioned with head, nose, and ears (*AV* 10.1.2) by skilled men (*cikitsavaḥ*), and decorated like a bride in her wedding (*AV* 10.1.1). She is of multiple form having two or four or eight legs (*AV* 10.1.24). Her complexion is red and blue (*RV* 10.85.28; *AV* 14.1.26). She has benign features when she originates from the gods.¹ She is considered to be greedy (the doubtful reading *grtsyāḥ* explained by Sāyaṇa as *gardhanaśīla* *AV* 19.34.2).

It may, however, be pointed out that the fierce appearance and character of Kṛtyā, which are greatly emphasized in the post-Vedic literature, are not so evident in Vedic literature. It is only in the post-Vedic literature that Kṛtyā has been represented as a frightful deity. Her fierceness can be imagined by her *dhyāna-mantra* as quoted by the *Śabdakalpadruma*:

क्रोधाज्ज्वलन्तीं ज्वलनं वमन्तीं
सृष्टिं दहन्तीं दितिजं ग्रसन्तीम् ।
भीमं नदन्तीं प्रणमामि कृत्याम्
रोरूयमाणां क्षुधयोगकालीम् ॥

(Cf. also *Mahābhārata* 3.239 and 13.94.40-41). She has been enumerated among the nine frightful mothers belonging to Śiva in the form of Bhairava, namely, 1. Mahāmārī, 2. Pūtānā, 3. Kṛtyā, 4. Śakunī, 5. Revatī, 6. Khalā, 7. Koṭārī, 8. Tāmasī, and 9. Māyā (*SkP* Avantikhaṇḍa, Pūrvārdha, Ch. 75). It may be noted that many of these are just personifications of different forms of evil.

Like most of the magical practices, Kṛtyā serves a double purpose. She may be performed either to harm an enemy or to protect oneself from the Kṛtyā performed by others (counter-Kṛtyā). Kṛtyā has been implored to crush and fell down the enemy, his cattle, horse and men, like the wind uprooting trees (*AV* 10.1.17). The practitioner knows her and her place and her swords made of iron (*ayasa*). Therefore, he asks her to go back to her originator and kill his offsprings (*AV* 10.1.19; 20). She is requested to return to her sender like a calf to its mother (*AV* 4.18.2). She is however prayed to not to slay the cow, horse, or men of the performer because slaughter of the innocent is heinous (*AV* 10.1.29). In one *ṛc* the performer says that he (the enemy) has most thoughtlessly brought her to the performer and his people by an improper road, and that he would send her back by the proper road (*AV* 5.31.10). In another *ṛc* the performer says that he who has ordered Kṛtyā to go to him (performer), has ordered her to swim against the current. She is implored not to harm the innocent ones but to go back to the performer (*AV* 10.1.7.) She is begged to return to her fashioner himself because the person against whom she has been directed is considered to be unknown to her (*AV* 10.1.8).

Kṛtyā may be performed in the *gārhapatya* fire (*AV* 5.31.5; 9; 10.1.18) or in the *kravyāda* fire (*saṅkasuke* 'fire which destroys the dead body' *AV* 5.31.9) or in the eastern fire (*AV* 5.31.5). She may be practised in a house (*AV* 5.31.5; 8) or in a dwelling place (*AV* 4.18.5; 10.1.4) or in the army or armament store-house (*iṣṭā-yudhe* : Whitney translates this word as 'arrows and weapons') or in a war-drum (*AV* 5.31.7). She may be installed in a well (*AV* 5.31.8) or in arable land (*AV* 4.8.5; 5.31.4; 10.1.4; 18) or in the cow-stall (*AV* 4.18.5; 10.1.4). She may be instituted in human bone (*AV* 5.31.9) or performed at the burial ground (*AV* 5.31.8; 10.1.18). She may be put in an unburnt earthen vessel or in raw flesh or in the mixed grain (*AV* 5.31.1) or in blue and red thread

(*AV* 4.17.4)³, in a cock, goat, ewe, or crested animal (*kurīriṇi*)³ (*AV* 5.31.2) or in a whole-hoofed animals like horse, etc. (*ekasāpṛhe*), in an ass, or in an animal having two rows of teeth (*AV* 5.31.3). She may be practised in a rootless plant or in the *narācī* plant (*AV* 5.31.4).

Unlike the Vedic sacrifices, which it is the exclusive right of the priests to perform, *Kṛtyā* can be practised by any one. It can be practised by a man or a woman, by a śūdra or a king or a brāhmaṇa (*AV* 5.14.6; 7; 10.1.3). Sometimes *Kṛtyā* rebounds on her originator, if something goes wrong in the performance. In such case, she is called *svayamkṛtā* (*AV* 8.5.9).⁴ Even the gods practise *Kṛtyā* (*AV* 5.14.7).⁵ Āṅgirasas are reputed to have been expert practisers of *Kṛtyā*. Therefore, whoever desires to perform or counteract *Kṛtyā* seeks a Purohita of the Āṅgirasa clan (*AV* 10.1.6). It is well known that the Āṅgirasas were great adepts in the *ghora* type of magic.

Kauś. 58.8 employs *AV* 4.9.5 in the initiation ceremony of a Vedic student. An ointment-amulet (*añjanamaṇi*) is fastened upon the student and it is prayed to ward off *Kṛtyā* sorcery. *Śānti Kalpa* 2.17.5 and 2.19.8 employs the same hymn in a *mahāśānti* ceremony named *Airavatī*, apparently for the protection of an elephant. A king desirous of victory over his rival recites *AV* 11.12.6 where *Kṛtyā* is addressed to go to the enemy's side for his defeat. *AV* 19.9.9 is a prayer to get weal from the exorcism (*abhičāra*) and protection from *Kṛtyā* and *valaga*.⁶ The verse is murmured when the king goes to his bed-room (*AVP* 4.5; 12-14). The *Śānti Kalpa* 18.8 counts it in the *Śāntigaṇa*.

If, however, *Kṛtyā* is successful in overpowering a person, there are means to render her ineffective and thereby free the person from her hold. *Kauś.* 39 prescribes an elaborate rite to cure such a person. An amulet made of *sraṅkya* (*tīlaka*) is fastened upon him after the *mahāśānti* rite. On the eastern side of the fire, the performer gets a black and yellow (*piśaṅga*) bull killed, and on the western side of the fire a red goat is killed. The purpose is to obtain broth (*yūṣa*) and flesh (*piśita*). The *mahāśānti* ceremony then follows. The herbs, *Vāśa* (*Āṭarūṣaka* according to *Dārila*), *Kāmpīla*, *Sitīvāra*, and *Sadampūṣṭa* (*Trisandhyā* according to *Dārila*), are put in a water-jar and the water is sprinkled on the patient. While sprinkling, the following

hymns are recited: *AV* 2.11; 4.40; 4.17; 4.18; 4.19; 5.14; 5.31; 8.5; and 10.1. All these hymns are enumerated in the *Kṛtyāgaṇa* of the *Gaṇamālā* (32.2) which also includes two more verses, namely, *AV* 7.65.1; 2. The order of the hymns in the *Gaṇamālā* is, however, changed here to correspond to the order of their employment. The entire rite is performed in the night. The celebrant wears a turban, but not shoes (*Kaus.* 18.10). He first sprinkles water in the way in which it is done in the *kravyādaśānti* (*Kaus.* 71.1-8) and recites the formula:

यतायै यतायै शान्तायै शान्तिवायै भद्रायै भद्रावति स्योनायै शग्मायै
शिवायै सुमङ्गलि प्रजावति सुसीमेऽहं वामाभूरिति ।

(*Kaus.* 39.9)

Looking at her with the *mantra kṛtyāyāmitracakṣuṣā*, he pierces *Kṛtyā* (*Kaus.* 35.28), reciting *AV* 5.14.9⁷. He scatters on the ankles of *Kṛtyā* the curds made from the milk of a cow of identical calf, by means of a *darvī* made of *Tilaka* wood. Afterwards, he sprinkles *śānti-udaka* three times by means of splinter (*śakala*) and feeds her with the broth and flesh, reciting *AV* 2.11. A piece of skin is tied up to some sticks. The performer goes the place by the right and unfastens the knots of *Kṛtyā* with a pair of tongs. She is then placed upon the skin with her face turned downwards. Her eyes are anointed with *navanīta*, while reciting *AV* 10.1.25. Then the performer ties the idol with a rope made of *darbha* grass and raises her, reciting the half-verse *AV* 10.1.20 *cd*. He holds a lamp in his left hand and an *alābu* (bottle-gourd) full of water in his right hand. He goes to an open place, where there are no foot-prints of a cow, or to a ditch which is not made by water but is made by animals, or to a place where water flows south-wards, or to a self-made ditch, or to a barren land (*ūṣara*), or to the place of an enemy. While walking, he sprinkles water from the *alābu* on the lamp and recites *AV* 10.1.32. Then he stands and makes *Kṛtyā* also stand, and recites the *mahāśānti* (*Kaus.* 9.6) loudly. The *śānti-udaka* is sprinkled on her vital parts (*marmāṇi*) for her appeasement. The place is ploughed with a plough yoked with black oxen. The cows (along with the plough and bulls) are given to *Brāhmaṇas* as *Dakṣiṇā*.

Herbs and plants and amulets made from them have efficacious power to ward off the evil effects of *Kṛtyā* sorcery. Thus,

Apāmārga (*AV* 4.19.6), Sahadevī (*AV* 4.18.4; 5), and Jaṅgiḍa (*AV* 2.4.6; 19.34.2; 4) are extolled to repel Kṛtyā. Amulets made of Sraktya and Varapa and fastened upon the patient (*AV* 2.11; 8.5; 10.3.4) cure him from the sufferings caused by Kṛtyā.⁸

The gods and the demons alike took recourse to Kṛtyā for their own purposes. The demons often practised it in order to overpower the gods. *ŚB* 2.4.3, for instance, narrates the following legend: Once upon a time the Devas and the Asuras contended for supremacy. The Asuras performed Kṛtyā sorcery and defiled all kinds of plants on which men and animals subsisted. All creatures were perishing from the lack of food. However, the Devas sacrificed with the first fruits of the two crops (barley in the spring and rice in the autumn), that is, they performed the sacrifice known as *Āgrayaṇeṣṭi*⁹, and thus overpowered the Asuras.

A similar motif can be discerned in the digging in of the four 'sounding holes' (known as *uparavas*) in the cartshed of king Soma in the Soma sacrifice. It is suspected that the demons have dug in the Kṛtyā *valāga* in the world. By means of these 'sounding holes' the gods dig out the Kṛtyā charm; and when the charm is removed, Kṛtyā becomes inoperative.

In later literature also Kṛtyā is shown as having become a tool in the hands of the demons. The dispirited Duryodhana, unable to bear the ignominy caused by his defeat at the hands of Citrasena, the Gandharva chief, in the Dvaita forest, undertook a fast unto death and did not renounce his vow, in spite of the entreaties made by Karṇa and Śakuni. Seeing that Duryodhana, one of their own class, was going to render fruitless all their tactics by his self-imposed death, ruining thereby their desire that the Pāṇḍavas (representing gods) should not win, the demons in the netherworld produced a demoness Kṛtyā by means of *abhicāra* and ordered her to fetch Duryodhana to them. They beguiled his mind by the false predictions that the ultimate victory in the ensuing war was his. A satisfied Duryodhana was brought back to his place by the same Kṛtyā (*Mbh.* 3.239 and 240).

It was feared that every auspicious occasion was vitiated by Kṛtyā. For instance, in connection with a marriage, it is suspected that Kṛtya may have been clandestinely performed by an all-disposed person in the bride's chair or cushion or covering and

hence the bride may be under her evil influence which would have its effect later. The bridal bath, which is a part of the marriage ceremony, is supposed to undo any such evil (*AV* 14.2.65). In the same ceremony, *BaudhGS* 1.5.10-11 prescribes that the couple should recite the verse,

नीललोहिते भवतः कृत्यासक्तिर्व्यज्यते ।

एधन्तेऽस्या ज्ञातयः पतिर्वन्धेषु बध्यताम् ॥¹⁰

looking at the red and blue evening sky. This appears to be amounting to a symbolic worship of red and blue Kṛtyā. On the morning after the *garbhādhāna* ceremony, which is performed on the fourth day after marriage, the cloth worn by the bride, which has been soiled by the nuptial consummation, is given over to the priest. Indeed, the red and blue blood-spots on the cloth are considered to represent Kṛtyā and hence inauspicious. The garment, which is technically called *śamulya*, is supposed to be extremely ominous if retained in the house. It becomes a walking Kṛtyā and associates herself with the husband (bringing thereby all disasters upon him) (*RV* 10.85.29; *AV* 14.1.25). If the husband wears that garment his body becomes devoid of splendour (*RV* 10.85.30).¹¹ Therefore, it should be given to a Brāhmaṇa with money, who, after expiation, purifies it (*RV* 10.85.29; *AV* 14.1.25).

In the field of magic, sorcery, and witchcraft, Rudra occupies a special position. Bhava and Śarva (which are aspects of Rudra¹²) are implored to hurl the lightning, their divine weapon, upon him who practises sorcery and does wrong (*AV* 10.1.23), and to protect the suppliant from the Kṛtyā-doers (*AV* 4.28.6). *Kauś.* 28.8 regards this hymn as *sarva bhaiṣajyāni* (all-medicinal) and gives details regarding its employment for counteracting Kṛtyā sorcery and curing the patient. The patient is anointed with dregs of ghee. Seven cornucopias are made from the leaves of Kāmpīla tree. They are filled with water. With the right hand, the performer pours water upon the patient and with the left hand, the cornucopias are thrown behind the patient across the head. *Kauś.* 26.40 prescribes that amulet made from chips of ten kinds of trees from among the *śāntaurkṣāḥ*¹³ should be fastened upon the patient in order that it might remove all ill effects of Kṛtyā.

In the Purāṇas, Rudra is said to play an important role in the practice of and protection from the Kṛtyā sorcery. He gives

protection to one who seeks his help to repel Kṛtyā. In this connection, the *Skanda-Purāṇa*¹¹ narrates the following story: A son was born to the widowed sister of Yājñavalkya from his seed which he had ejaculated in a night-dream on his loin cloth and which she had unknowingly used during her menses. Afraid of social reprehension, she abandoned the child under a Pippala tree. The child sustained itself on the fruits of that tree and hence was later known as Paippalāda. The boy felt much agrieved on account of his condition, and thought that it was all because of the evil influence of Śani. He, therefore, cursed Śani and got him to promise that thenceforth he would not trouble children. Paippalāda then turned his attention to his father. Finding him responsible for his sufferings, he produced Kṛtyā by means of the *Kṛtyā-mantra*-s and directed her to kill Yājñavalkya. A frightened Yājñavalkya went to Janaka, Indra, Brahmā, and Viṣṇu for protection, which was, however, denied to him. Finally, he went to Śiva and stealthily entered into one of his finger-mails. Kṛtyā followed him there and rudely called on Śiva to release her prey. Śiva came to know the entire incident, saved Yājñavalkya, and compensated Paippalāda with boons.

Śiva is also represented as helping those who wanted to harm their enemies by Kṛtyā sorcery. *BhP* 10.66 relates the following in this context: Once king Pauṇḍraka assumed the title of Kṛṣṇa and proclaimed that he was the real Kṛṣṇa while the Kṛṣṇa of Dvārakā was just a fake. Eventually he challenged the latter to prove his godhood in battle. They fought and Pauṇḍraka was killed. Sudakṣiṇa, unable to bear the death of his father, namely, the king of Kashi who had joined Pauṇḍraka, undertook an austere penance and propitiated Śaṅkara, the presiding deity of Kashi. He begged him for a device by which he could avenge the killer of his father. According to Śiva's advice, he performed a sacrifice in the Dakṣiṇa fire through *abhicāravidhi* and a Māheśvarī Kṛtyā was produced. She was ordered to kill Kṛṣṇa. An infernal fire proceeded towards Dvārakā sweeping every thing on the way, and surrounded Dvārakā. People in panic ran to Kṛṣṇa for protection. Kṛṣṇa loosened his disc which chased Kṛtyā back to Kashi and destroyed it. Whereas, on the one hand, this story shows Śiva's power over Kṛtyā, on the other hand, it also shows a conflict which arose in the later time between

the Śiva-cult and the Kṛṣṇa-cult.¹⁶ Fire, of course, is Kṛtyā's form (*nīla-lohitam bhavati kṛtyā RV 10.85.28*).

As has been said above Kṛtyā can be produced by anyone—whether a king or a brāhmaṇa or a ṛṣi or a śūdra. In the Purāṇic literature she becomes a tool in the hands of ṛṣis and kings which they use to achieve their purpose. Kṛtyā is represented sometimes as male and sometimes as female. In grateful recognition of the favour shown to him by the two Aśvins, Cyavana, who was restored to youth by them, offered Soma to them in the sacrifice performed by Śaryāti. Indra objected to this and hurled his thunderbolt to kill Cyavana. The ṛṣi stopped the advancing *vajra* and produced Kṛtyā to kill Indra. Indra, however, later acquiesced and was spared (*Mbh.* 3.124. 18-21; *Devībh.* P. 7.7.12-20).

Once a severe drought occurred. People died of starvation. It became well nigh impossible for the seven ṛṣis to continue to live. They went out in search of food but could not find anything. Accidently, they came to a place where they found the dead body of the son of Śibi who had given his son to the *Rtvijas* as sacrificial *Dakṣiṇā*. They could recollect that grand occasion because they themselves had officiated in that sacrifice. Being dragooned by the monstrous hunger, they began to cook the dead body. While they were thus occupied, Śaibya, son of Vṛṣadarbha, in course of his roving, came to them and offered gifts. They, however, refused. The king felt offended, sacrificed in the fire, and a Kṛtyā of frightful mien sprang. She was named Yātudhānī. She proceeded to kill the seven ṛṣis, but she was killed by Indra (*Mbh.* 13.94;95).

Ṛṣis practised Kṛtyā to translate their wrath into action. She was enshrined in their matted hair and could be produced any time without any rite, in a fraction of moment. King Ambarīṣa once observed the Dvādaśī-Vrata. He distributed ample *Dakṣiṇā* among the Brāhmaṇas. In the mean time, the sage Durvāsas came to him. The king invited him for dinner. He accepted and went to take bath in the river, but was delayed. The time for breaking the fast was fast expiring. The king was in a dilemma. On the one hand, the Dvādaśī-Vrata had to be relinquished on the same *tīthi*, while, on the other, he could not take any

food unless his guest was entertained. Ultimately, the king took water. When the ṛṣi arose from his meditation, he came leisurely to the king, only to find that the king had already broken his fast. This was too much for the irascible Durvāsas. He plucked a hair from his head and dashed it on the ground in wrath. Kṛtyā stood before him. He ordered her to kill the king. The embarrassed Ambarīṣa stood calmly with his folded hands, remembering Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu's disc came to his succour. It burnt Kṛtyā and chased Durvāsas. The appalled Durvāsas ran for his life to Brahmā, Śiva, and even Viṣṇu, but none could protect him. Finally, Viṣṇu advised him to go to the kind-hearted king Ambarīṣa, and beg for his pardon. He was pardoned. The same story is also found in the *Brahmavaivarta-Purāṇa*, Part II, Ch. 50, with a slight difference. Durvāsas found a hair in the food that was served to him, became angry, and produced Kṛtyā. It may be noted that hair is conspicuously associated with Kṛtyā in both the stories.¹⁶ Durvāsas is a *tāmasic* type of ṛṣi, and belongs to the Rudra group.¹⁷

Another story relating to Kṛtyā is related in the *Mbh.* 3.137. The sage Yavakri once went to the hermitage of Raibhya, where he happened to behold the wife of Parāvasu, son of Raibhya. He was seized with passion. Being afraid of Yavakri's ire and the consequent doom, the poor woman reluctantly agreed to satisfy his lust. When the sage Raibhya heard of this, he was overcome with rage, tore off a hair from his matted lock, and offered it in the fire. A female resembling his daughter-in-law arose. He took another hair, offered it in the fire, and a male sprang. He ordered both of them to go to Yavakri and kill him. The female (Kṛtyā) stole the sacred water-pot of Yavakri, thus rendering him powerless.¹⁸ Yavakri ran to the waters and rivers but was refused protection, and finally was killed. The male demon married the female (Kṛtyā) with the permission of the sage.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out here that some of the functions of Kṛtyā were later transferred to Kālī, another female divinity of the Śiva group.

Foot Notes

1. तस्मात्कृत्या समुत्पन्ना दिव्या कमललोचना ।
द्योतयन्ती दिशः सर्वाः स्वतेजोभिः समन्ततः ॥
Skp, Avantikhaṇḍa, Pūrvārdha, Caturaśītiliṅgamāhātmya, Ch. 4.

2. Sāyaṇa explains *nīlalahite* as 'house-fire'. Bloomfield (*Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, SBE, Vol. XLII, p. 393) explains it as 'blue and red thread'. *AVP* pp 5.23.6 has *sūtre* before *nīlalahite*.
3. Whitney translates *kurīriṇi* with '*kurīra* wearing goat'; Geldner explains it as having 'horn', *Vedis. Stu.* Vol. 1, p. 130.
4. Sāyaṇa commenting on this ṛc cites the example of Vṛtra's sacrifice, when he was killed on account of the wrong recitation of the *mantra* : *yathendraśatruḥ svarato' parādhāt* (*Pāṇinīya-Śikṣā*, 52).
5. This is attested by the following legend : Vajra, son of the demon Ruru, troubled the gods by his might. All the sacrifices vanished. A great chaos prevailed. The helpless gods produced Kṛtyā with the assistance of ṛṣis and it was she who finally killed the demon and rescued the gods. *SkP*, *Avantikhaṇḍa*, *Pūrvārdha*, *Caturaśītiliṅgamāhātmya*, Ch. 4.
6. *Valaga* has been explained as a charm, consisting of bones, nails, hair, foot-dust, and similar objects, tied up in a piece of worn matting or cloth or the like and dug into the ground arm deep. See footnote 2 on p. 135 in Eggeling's translation of *ŚB*, SBE, Vol. XXVI.
7. This presupposes an idol of Kṛtyā.
8. For detailed information about herbs, plants, and amulets, see N. J. Shende: "The Foundations of the Atharvaṇic Religion", *BDCRI*, IX (3-4), 345-68.
9. It may be noted that this performance still continues, as the basis of Holi festival. One of the reasons for lighting bonfire at this festival and offering into it new barley crops seems to be symbolic of the burning of Kṛtyā. All the impurity of the crops is thus removed.
10. This verse is similar to the *RV* 10.85.28 or *AV* 14.1.26 with slight variants.
11. Cf. also *AV* 14.1.27 which reads *aślīlā* in place of *aśrīrā*.
12. Cf. Sāyaṇa on *AV* 11.2.1 and Bloomfield, *The Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, SBE, Vol. XLII, p. 618.

13. They are : Palāśa, Udumbara, Jambu, Kāmpīla, Sraktya, Vaṅgha, Śirīṣa, Srak, Varāṇa, Bilva, Jaṅgiḍa, Kuṭaka, Garhya, Galāvala, Vetasa, Simbala, Sipuna, Syandana, Arāṇikā, Aśmayokta, Tunyu, and Pūtadāru.
14. *SkP*, Avantikhaṇḍa, Uttarārdha, Revākhaṇḍa, Ch. 42.
15. It has been pointed out by some scholars that Śiva does not come from the Aryan stock and that it took some time to absorb him in the Vedic pantheon. But his pristine character was not forgotten even so late as the Purāṇic period.
16. Samson's invincible power also was enshrined in his hair. Once his head was shaved, he became powerless. (*The Holy Bible*, Old Testament, Judges, 16).
17. *Mārka. P*, Ch. 17 mentions that Durvāsas was an incarnation of a portion of Śiva.
18. This reminds one of the water used in the *mahāśānti* ceremony to repel Kṛtyā, *Kauś.* 39.9.

SUN-WORSHIP IN BALI—A HYPOTHESIS

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[अस्मिन् निबन्धे दक्षिणपूर्वीयस्य एशियामहाद्वीपस्य बालिदेशे प्रचलितस्य सूर्यपूजनस्य स्वरूपविषये तन्मूलविषये च विमर्शः कृतः । विदुषां बालिदेशे प्रचलितस्य सूर्यपूजनस्य विषये मतद्वैविध्यं वर्तते । एकस्य मतस्य अनुसारतः पूर्वकाले बालिदेशे हिन्दूसभ्यतायाः संपर्को नासीत् तस्मिन्नपि काले तत्र सूर्योपासना प्रचलिता आसीत् । मतान्तरानुसारतः पैराणिकसूर्योपासनायाः प्रभावो बालिदेशे प्रचलितसूर्योपासने लक्ष्यते । अत्रास्मिन् निबन्धे लेखकेन प्रतिपादितं यद् उपलब्धानां सर्वेषां प्रमाणा-
नामनुसारतः बालिदेशे प्रचलितायाः सूर्यपूजायाः स्वरूपं, मूलं विकासश्च पैराणिकसूर्यपूजामाधारीकरोति । हिन्दूसभ्यतायाः प्रभावात् प्राक् बालि-
देशीयायाः संस्कृत्याः सम्यक् ज्ञानं संप्रति नास्ति, अतः तद्विषये किमपि प्रामाणिकं वक्तुं न शक्यते ।]

On the source and nature of the religion, art, literature and other fields of the culture of the South-East Asian countries in the ancient period there had always been difference of opinions among the scholars. Two diametrically opposite groups of historians have emerged in this respect—one emphasising the pre-Hindu indigenous traditions, the other attributing the development of different aspects of the culture in South-East Asia in the ancient period to the impact of the Hindu traditions.¹ The religion is one of the major fields where this type of controversy can be seen to the fullest extent.² It is well known that Śiva-Sūrya or Śiva-Āditya

1. See Hall, D.G.E., (Ed.) *Historians of South-east Asia*, for various points of views from which ancient South-east Asian culture and history had been studied. R.C. Majumdar, *Suvarandvīpa*, Pt. II, pp. 137-38, Q. Wales, *Pre-history and Religion in South-east Asia*, London, 1957.
2. J. Gonda has recently thrown light on many aspects and problems of religion in these lands in his article, "The Presence of Hinduism in Indonesia: Aspects and Problems," *Vivekananda Commemoration Volume*, pp. 534-554.

is the supreme god in Bali.³ T. Goudriaan⁴ has suggested that a pre-Hindu Sun-worship may have played its part in causing this emphasis on the solar aspect of the Hindu Śiva. Similarly Van der Hoop⁵ has seen pre-Hindu Balinese element in the worship of the Sun in the formless form who is supposed to descend on a stone seat or the *padmāsana* in Bali. C. Hooykaas⁶ has also found differences between the south Indian ritual and Sūrya-Sevana and attributed the cause for these differences to the impact of the pre-Hindu Balinese tradition. In all these views the common link is the belief of these scholars that there existed a pre-Hindu Balinese tradition of Sun-worship in Bali which is ultimately responsible for the concept of a formless Sun-god who descends on a *padmāsana*; and also for the unity in diversity of Sūrya-Śiva⁷; and thirdly, the connection of Sūrya-Sevana ritual with the ancestor worship and *āgamatīrtha*⁸ which are indigenous to Bali.

The present author does not doubt the soundness of these three propositions as there are many reliable evidences in favour of them cited by several scholars in the past. At the same time it is not possible in our present state of knowledge to accept or discard the thesis of the existence of a pre-Hindu Sun-worship in Bali. It is quite probable that it may have existed as Sun-worship has been an universal phenomenon in the early stages of civilization.⁹ What tempts the present author to doubt is the

3. Friederich, R., *Bali*; Liefrinck, Brijdrage tot de kennis van het eiland Bali. *T.B.G.*, Vol. 33, pp. 233-252.
4. Goudriaan, T., Sanskrit Texts and Indian Religion in Bali, *Vivekananda Commemoration Volume, India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, Madras, 1970, p. 559; Majumdar, R.C., *Suvarāṇḍvīpa*, Pt. II, p. 139.
5. Van der Hoop quoted by J.L. Swellengrebel, *Bali, Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual*, The Hague, 1960, p. 28.
6. Hooykaas, C., Saivism in Bali, Two Hypotheses, *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. 15 (1965-66), p. 381. For details see, Hooykaas's *Sūrya-Sevana, the Way to God of a Balinese Śiva Priest*, Amsterdam, 1966.
7. See, C.J. Grade, *Bali, Studies in Life, Thought and Ritual*, The Hauge, p. 407.
8. Hooykaas, C., *Āgamatīrtha, Five Studies in Hindu-Balinese Religion*, Amsterdam, 1964.
9. Tylor, E.B., *Religion in the Primitive Culture*, New York, 1955, pp. 371-384. For details of *padmāsana* in Bali religion see, C. Hooykaas's *Āgamatīrtha* which includes this topic among the five subjects dealt with there.

conclusion that a pre-Hindu Balinese Sun-worship was at the back of the concepts : (a) of a formless Sun-god worshipped by means of a *padmāsana*, (b) of the unity of Sūrya and Śiva and (c) of the connection of Sūrya-Sevana ritual with the ancestor-worship.

The concept of a formless Sun-god worshipped by means of a *padmāsana*¹⁰ which is his seat in every village in Bali was not a monopoly of that land but it can be traced in the Hindu solar tradition throughout. As early as the *R̥gveda* the Sun was identified with the all-spirit and was regarded as the original power of all animate and inanimate objects in the universe. This idea was continued in the later Vedic Literature.¹¹ A sort of solar monotheism and monism also prevailed in a few Vedic circles.¹² The Upaniṣadic seers had developed a distinctive concept of a *Puruṣa* in the sun which is nothing but the formless ultimate reality.¹³ The *hiranyagarbha* hymn is also indicative of the formless nature of the sun as the ultimate principle.¹⁴ In the epic literature¹⁵ of India the formless form of the Sun-god exists side by side his humanised nature. In the Purāṇic literature too the concept of the Sun as the formless reality is traceable quite off and on. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*¹⁶ he is the cause of creation, dissolution and permanence. He has a subtle form also by which he transcends his crude form.¹⁷ The early Purāṇas state in unmistakable terms that there was no human form of the Sun-god in the beginning.¹⁸ The *Sāmba Purāṇa* is also aware of the fact that the Sun has two forms—*Sakala* and *Niṣkala*.¹⁹ It states that while residing

10. Srivastava, V.C., *Sun-worship in Ancient India*, Allahabad, 1972, p. 56; Srivastava, V.C., *On the R̥gveda*, I. 115. 4a, Pt. K.C. Chattopadhyaya Felicitation Volume, Pt. 2, 1972., Sarkar H.B., *Some Contribution of India to the Ancient Civilization of Indonesia and Malayasia* ch VIII.

11. Ibid., pp. 60-61.

12. Ibid., pp 62-63; cf. *RV*. I. 164. 46.

13. *BAU*, II. 3. 1, *Maitrī Up*. VI. 5.

14. Srivastava, V. C., op. cit., p. 79.

15. Ibid., p. 196; *MBH*, XIII. 318. 41-42, अतिसूर्यस्तु निष्कलः

16. *CHH*, 2.

17. *CIV*, 18-29.

18. See, Srivastava, V. C., op. cit., 218 ff.

19. Hazra, R.C., *Studies in the Upa-purāṇas*, Vol. I, pp. 56-57. The Āgamic ideas of conception of duties as *Sakala* and *Niṣkala* are traceable in Bali. *Adyar Library Bulletin* Vol. XXXVII, p. 209.

as *Kṣetrajña* in the material body this supreme being who is both personal and impersonal, remains formless, and is not contaminated by actions or influenced by the objects of senses.²⁰ At another place the *Sāmba Purāṇa* reiterates the nature of the Sun-god as that of a formless ultimate reality.²¹

The connection of the lotus with Sun-worship is a quite prominent feature of ancient Indian Sun-cult as it symbolises the fertility, and therefore, creative aspect of the Sun. In the *Agnicayana* there is a significant reference to the provision of placing a gold man, a gold plate and a lotus leaf which may be taken as symbolic of the descent of the formless *Puruṣa* which is Sun on the lotus for adoration.²² In the Purāṇic Sun-worship the lotus serves as the symbolic place for the seat of the Sun-god. In many *sauravratas* described in the early Purāṇas the eight petalled lotus serves as the Sun. In a few *vratas* the Sun-image is required while in others, the lotus serves the purpose.²³ In the later portions of the *Sāmba Purāṇa* which are influenced by Tantricism, we find the worship of the Sun as the formless ultimate reality by means of a *padmamaṇḍala*. Chapter 53 of the *Sāmba Purāṇa* (Venkateśvara edition) is worth noticing in this respect as it says that first of all the 8 petalled lotus is to be meditated upon, imagining that *Sūrya* is seated in its middle part. The Sun-god is then invited to sit there and accept our gifts (cf. In the early portions also this type of thought is discernible, Ch. 39, 40 etc.). Thus the concept of the Sun as the formless spirit descending on a *padmāsana* after having been invited by a priest as found in Bali, is equally traceable in ancient India and particularly in the Sun-cult as preserved in the *Sāmba Purāṇa* it was a recognized practice. It is no wonder that this tradition seen in the *Sāmba Purāṇa*; in particular, was responsible for this type of the Sun-cult in Bali. In view of the fact that Tantric practices are quite prominently traceable in the ritual of Bali²⁴, it is reasonable

20. *Sāmba P.*, 5.14-19.

21. *Ibid.*, 7.6-8; 4.5.

22. Srivastava, V.C., op. cit., pp. 157, 159.

23. Roy, S.N., *Paurāṇic Dharma Evam Samāja*, p. 165 and Early Purāṇic Account of Sun and Solar Cult, *Allahabad University Studies*, 1963 (64); Srivastava, V. C., Purāṇic Records on the Sun-worship, *Purāṇa*, Vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 240-42.

24. See, Goris, *Old Javanese Balinese Theology*, 1926 Swellengrebel, *Life, Thought and Ritual*, 1960.

to suppose that the Tantric tradition had played a prominent role in the making of the religious life of the Bali. The tradition of the worship of the Sun by means of a lotus seat as quoted above from the *Sāmba Purāṇa* is essentially Tantric in nature.²⁵ Therefore, the probability of its migration to Bali gains strength.

The second concept of the identity of Sūrya and Śiva in Bali is more Indian than any thing else. In the Purāṇic Sun-cult of India²⁶ the unity in diversity among different gods can be seen quite prominently. The *Pañcopāsana*²⁷ is a standing testimony of this trend. Besides this general trend of syncretism there is a particular tendency in the Purāṇic Sun-cult to identify Sūrya and Śiva—a tendency which gains exclusiveness in the solar sectarian Purāṇas like the *Bhaviṣya* and the *Sāmba*. In the *Matsya Purāṇa*²⁸ Sūrya and Śiva have been identified. All the four gods—Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Śiva are identified. The Nirmand copper plate inscription informs us that the personality of the Sun god under the name of Mihira was merged with Śiva.²⁹ The *Sāmba Purāṇa* states that the Sun was worshipped as Viṣṇu in Śvetadvīpa, Māheśvara in Kuśadvīpa, as Brahmā in Puṣkaradvīpa and as Bhāskara in Śākadvīpa. In the later chapters of the *Sāmba Purāṇa*, Sūrya and Śiva become indistinguishable. It is stated³⁰ that this worship of the Sun as equal to Śiva is nothing but Saivite in doctrine. In the chapter 71³¹ the *Sāmba Purāṇa* clearly states that Śiva is seated in the centre of the Bija of Sūrya³². In the Chapter 80³³ the *Sāmba Purāṇa* asserts

25. Hazra, R.C., *Studies in the Upa-purāṇas*, Vol. I, Woodrooffe, *Introduction to Tantra*; Srivastava, V.C., *Sun-worship in Ancient India*, pp. 264-66.
26. *Agni Purāṇa*, Ch. 7; see, C.G. Diehl, *Instrument and Purpose, Studies in Rites and Rituals in South India*, London, 1956, pp. 111; N.R. Bhatt, *Rauravāgama*, Pondichery, 1961, p. 195.
27. See, Banerjea, J. N., *Pancopāsana* (Bengali).
28. *Matsya Purāṇa*, LV, 3-5.
29. Srivastava, V.C., *The Solar, cult as Revealed by the Gupta and Post-Gupta Inscriptions*, *Bhāratiya Vidya*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1-4., pp. 41-48.
30. *Sāmba Purāṇa*, 26, 37-38.
31. *Ibid.*, 55, 14-15.
32. *Ibid.*, 71.7.
33. *Ibid.*, 80, 10.

that the *Sādhaka* of a particular *Pūjā* of the Sun enters into Śiva. Similarly in Chapter 83³⁴ the Purāṇa does not distinguish between Sūrya and Śiva. In the *Śaradā-tilaka-tantra*³⁵ also the identity between Sūrya and Śiva has been maintained. The *Mārtaṇḍa-Bhairava* type of images of Sūrya found from different parts of India also tell the same story.³⁶ Again it is significant to note that this conceptual similarity between Balinese and Indian Sun-worship is to be particularly found in the later portions of the *Sāmba Purāṇa* and other works like the *Śaradā-tilaka-tantra* which were influenced by Śaivite Tantricism.³⁷ Therefore there is no need to repeat that the migration of the Sūrya-Śiva concept may have been derived from Purāṇic Tantric influence from India.

There is controversy regarding the nature of *Sūrya-Sevana*. R.C. Majumdar³⁸ and other older historians regarded the *Sūrya-Sevana* as the worship of the Sun as Śiva while recent researches of C. Hooykaas³⁹ have led the scholarly world to believe that it is a daily ritual without anything solar in particular. The present author does not doubt the domestic and daily nature of the ritual but at the same time believes that there is definitely some solar element in it. The *Gāyatrī* ritual of India offers a striking parallel to it in the sense that it is originally a solar prayer which later on assumed the form of a daily prayer for every twice-born Hindu.⁴⁰ In the *mantras* used in the *Sūrya-sevana* there are direct references to the Sun-god whose personality has been merged into that of Śiva. As noticed above this tendency is quite marked in the Purāṇic Tantric Sun-worship.

34. Ibid., 83, 40.

35. XIV. 41.2.

36. Sarkar, K.C., *A New Specimen of Sūrya from Varendra*, *A.I.O.C.*, Patna, 1930, p. 246; *I.H.Q.*, Vol II, 465-70; Agrawala, V.S., *Rajasthan ke Prāchīna Mūrti kalā, men Sūrya Nārāyaṇa tathā Mārtaṇḍa Bhairava Pratimāyen*, *Śodha Patrikā*, Udaipur, VIII, June, 1957.

37. Hazra, R.C., *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. I.

38. Majumdar, R. C., *Suvarṇadvīpa*, pt. II, pp. 106-109; Goris, op. cit., 12-53; Levi, S., *Sanskrit Texts from Bali*, Biswas, D. K., *Sūrya and Śiva*, *IHQ.*, XXIV, 1948; XXVII, 1950.

39. *Sūrya Sevana, the Way to God of a Balinese Śiva-priest*, Amsterdam, 1966.

40. Srivastava, V.C. *Sun-worship in Ancient India*, pp. 76-79.

The identity of these two divinities was so complete in early mediaeval India that a Purāṇa which is named as *Saura Purāṇa* is actually a *Śiva Purāṇa*. As regards the emphasis on the water in this ritual it needs no reminding that in all daily and other rituals of Purāṇic India the water has played a conspicuous part.⁴¹ A comparison of the ceremonies of the *Sūrya-Sevana* and the *Gāyatrī* ritual will leave no room for doubt that with minor differences in detail both employ cleansing of the mouth, hands etc. with the water and *Prāṇāyāma* etc. are also employed in both.⁴² It does not matter if a few more ceremonies are connected with the water in Bali. Hooykas's assertion that since there are differences between the South Indian ritual and the *Sūrya-Sevana* ritual and there is employment of these for the death ceremonies in Bali and therefore it is indigenous, needs rethinking in the light of the intimate connection of the Sun-god with the death and the concept of the Sun-home of the dead⁴³ in India. Śiva is also a god of death in India. Particularly in his *Rudra Bhairava*⁴⁴ aspect he is connected with the death. Therefore, the combined form of *Sūrya-Śiva* has definitely something to do with the death. If the *mantras* of the *Sūrya Sevana* are employed in the death ceremonies in Bali, there is nothing here indicative of the pure Balinese element. Moreover, it is also significant to note that *Pedanda*, the Brahman priest of *Sūrya-Sevana* has been sharply distinguished with another class of priests—*Pamangku* who are of a non-Brahman descent and are in charge of family and village temples.⁴⁵ The rivers in Bali are named after Indian rivers but they are conscious of the fact that these rivers such as Ganga, Yamuna etc. are located in India⁴⁶ and the water which is the central fact of *Sūrya-Sevana* is made pure by the *mantras* of Indian origin.⁴⁷ These facts show that Indian and Balinese traditions were not wholly intregated and *Sūrya-Sevana* was regarded as

41. Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 313.
42. Ibid; R.C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Pt. II, pp. 106-109.
43. Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 167-168.
44. See, Lorenzen, David, N., *The Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas*, New Delhi, 1972.
45. Condrian, T., *Sanskrit Texts and Indian Religion in Bali*, *Vivekananda Commemoration Volume*, p. 559.
46. Majumdar, R. C., *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Pt. II, p. 144.
47. Ibid.

of Indian heritage. The tradition of holy water of rivers like Ganges play significant part in India even upto the present day. Further it is worth-noticing that the solar nature of *Samdhya* is maintained in Bali as is evident from the fact that the *stava* No. 839.007 on *Sūrya* has as its last verse one that we utter towards the close of our daily *Samdhya*^{47a} :

It is interesting to note that a few *Sūrya stavas* have been discovered from Bali. A critical examination of their sources and meaning may throw valuable light on this hypothesis. Sylvan Levi⁴⁸ and a few others⁴⁹ after him have edited such *stavas* along with others, but no critical analysis of them have been done. It is, therefore, desirable to quote a few important *Sūrya stavas* of Bali here in extension. Sylvan Levi's collection includes following *Sūrya-stavas* :⁵⁰

ॐ रक्तवर्ण महातेजः श्वेतपद्मोपरिस्थित ।
 सर्वलक्षणसम्पूर्ण सर्वाभरणभूषित ॥
 द्विभुजं एकवक्त्रं च सौम्यपङ्कजघृत्करम् ।
 वर्तुले तेजोविम्बे तु मध्यस्थं रक्तवाससम् ॥
 आदित्यस्य त्विदं रूपं शुचिसत्त्वजितेन्द्रियम् ।
 त्रिकालं यः स्मरेत्केन्द एकचित्ते व्यवस्थितः ॥
 सोऽचिराद्भवति लोके वित्तेन धनदोपमः ।
 मुच्यते सर्वरोगैस्तु तेजस्वी बलवान् भवेत् ॥
 हृदयास्था शिरश्चैव शिखापमास्त्रलोचनम् ।
 रक्तवर्णास्त्वमे सौम्याः सर्वभरणभूषिताः ॥
 वरदपद्महस्तास्तु ध्यातव्याः साधकेन तु ।
 विद्युत्पुश्चिनिनं स्तोत्रं उग्रदंष्ट्राकालिनी ॥

Even a casual reader will notice several mistakes of language in the above *stava*. In place of रक्तवर्ण and श्वेतपद्मोपरिस्थित the correct forms should be रक्तवर्ण and श्वेतपद्मोपरिस्थित respectively. In the sixth line केन्द does not appear to be a Sanskrit word and is irrelevant.

47a. Gondriaan, T. and Hooykaas, C., *Stuti and Stava*, p. 28.
 नमः सवित्रे ।

48. *Sanskrit Texts from Bali*, Baroda, 1933.

49. Gondriaan, T. and Hooykaas, C., *Stuti and Stava* (Bauddha, śaiva and Vaiṣṇava) of Balinese Brahman Priests, North Holland Publishing Co., Amsterdam, London, 1971.

50. *Sanskrit Texts from Bali*, pp. 65-66. See for the state of Sanskrit in these lands J. Gordes *Sanskrit in Indonesia*.

The whole eighth line हृदयास्था शिरश्चैव शिखापमास्त्रलोचनम् appears to be redundant. In the last line in the place of विद्युत्पुश्चिन्नं, विद्युत्पुश्चिन्नं appears to be meant and in the place of कालिनी, करालिनी appears to be the correct reading. The above *stava* may be translated into English as follows "Om ! One who contemplates this (following) pure, good and passion-conquering form of Āditya three times, morning, noon and evening, with the single-minded concentration, becomes, in no time, Kubera in this world and is freed from all diseases and becomes powerful and lustrous. The Sun is of red colour and great lustre and is standing on a white lotus. He is endowed with all the auspicious marks and decorated with all ornaments. He has two hands and one face and holds in his hands beautiful lotus. He stands with red clothes in the middle of the circular shining disc. He should be meditated by a *Sādhaka* as of red colour, handsome, decorated with all the ornaments and with boongiving lotus in hands."

There is no doubt that the Sun god has been invoked in the above *stava* in human form with hands, face, ornaments, lotus etc. Besides there is a reference to the formless form in it also as it refers to him as the *Puruṣa* in the shining disc which approximates to the *Puruṣa*-concept of the Sun-god of the Upaniṣads and the Purāṇas. But the main burden of this *stava* is the adoration of a humanised Sun-god. In view of it, it is not fair to say that there was no humanised form of the Sun in Bali and it is only in the formless form that he is worshipped there.

It is quite significant to find that both the theme and phraseology, of this *stava* had been taken from India. For instance the *Rūpa Maṇḍana* as quoted by T.A.G. Rao⁵¹ has almost parallel four lines which run as follows :

सर्वलक्षणसंयुक्तं सर्वाभरणभूषितम्
द्विभुजं चैकवक्त्रं च श्वेतपंकजधृक्करम् ।
वर्तुलं तेजसो विम्बं मध्यस्थं रक्तवासम्
आदित्यस्य त्विदं रूपं कुर्यात् पापप्रणाशनम् ॥

The first line in the Bali *Sūrya-stava* appears to have been taken from the *Śilparatna*⁵² where a line of similar import can be found :

रक्तवर्णो महातेजा द्विबाहुः पद्मभृद्विः

51. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol I, pt. II, p. 90.

52. *Ibid.*

Another *stava* from Bali which has been termed by Sylvan Levi as the *Dvādaśāḍityastava*⁵³ runs as follows :

ॐ नमामि शिरसा सूर्यं सप्तलोकनमस्कृतम् ।
 दीप्तमन्त्रं महावीर्यं ज्ञानवन्तं शिवात्मकम् ॥
 वक्ष्येऽहं नामतः सम्यग्व्यासेन परमं शिवम् ।
 मासे मासे यथोत्पन्नं तदेव शृणु मे पुनः ॥
 अरुणो माघमासे च विवस्वान् फाल्गुने स्मृतः ।
 चैत्रमासे भवेदंशुर्भानुर्वैशाख एव च ॥
 ज्येष्ठे मासे भवेदिन्द्र आषाढे अर्यमा स्मृतः ।
 गभस्तिः श्रावणे मासे यमो भाद्रपदे तथा ॥
 पर्जन्यश्चाश्विने मासे कार्तिके च दिवाकरः ।
 मार्गशिरे स्यान्मित्रश्च पौषे विष्णुः स्मृतस्तथा ॥
 इत्येते द्वादशादित्या नामतः परिकीर्त्तताः ।
 मासेभ्यो द्वादशादिभ्यो नमस्कारं करोम्यहम् ॥
 आदित्यस्तवनं प्रोक्तं यो नरः कथमिष्यति ।
 त्रिकालमेककालं वा शिवभक्तिसमाश्रितः ॥
 आदित्यस्तवनं प्रोक्तं यो नरः पठते सदा ।
 यद्यत्प्रार्थयते सम्यक् सदाऽप्नोति स मानवः ॥
 मोक्षार्थी लभते मोक्षं स्वर्गार्थी स्वर्गमाप्नुयात् ।
 पुत्रार्थी पुत्रमाप्नोति भोगार्थी भोगमाप्नोति ।
 जयार्थी जयमाप्नोति यशोऽर्थी लभते यशः ।
 वद्धो विमुच्यते बन्धाद्रोगी रोगात्प्रमुच्यते ॥

The above *stava* may be translated as follows :

Om ! I salute with my head the Sun who has been saluted by the seven worlds, who is full of light, strength, wisdom and who is the essence of Śiva. I narrate by a proper analysis the names of the Śiva as he is born in different months. You are requested to hear that once again. He is Aruṇa in the month of Māgha, Vivasvān in Phālguna, Aṁśu in the Caitra month, Bhānu in the Vaiśākha, Indra in the Jyēṣṭha month, Aryamā in the Āṣāḍha, Bhaga in Śrāvaṇa month, Yama in the Bhādra, Parjanya in the Āśvina month, Divākara in the Kārttika, Mitra in the Mārgaśīrṣa and Viṣṇu in the Pauṣa. These twelve Ādityas have been enunciated by name. I salute these twelve months. That person who recites the brilliant, Āditya-hymn thrice or who recites once only

53. *Sanskrit Texts from Bali*, p. 66.

with full of devotion to lord Śiva, that person who reads the Āditya-hymn that person always obtains whatever he prays properly, one who wishes for the liberation, gets liberation, one who desires for the heaven attains heaven, one who aspires for a son gets a son, one who wishes pleasures gets pleasure, one who wants victory attains victory, one who wishes fame gets fame. A prisoner gets the release and a sick man is free from his sickness”.

It is quite clear that in the above *stava* the Sun has been adored in the typical Indian fashion. The concept of the twelve-Ādityas as identified with the twelve months is a popular theme of the Purāṇic Sun-worship, though its origin may be traced back to the Brāhmaṇas.⁵⁴ As pointed out by S. Levi and recently by T. Goudriaan⁵⁵ and C. Hookyaas⁵⁶ this *Dvādaśāditya stava* is at least partly a piece of the well known *Āditya-hṛdaya* hymn said to be taken from the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* or *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.

Thus to recapitulate, it may be suggested that the concept of the Sun-god as a formless reality descending on a *padmāsana* and getting worship there, as was prevalent in Bali, has the backing of the Hindu tradition in general and the Purāṇic Tantric heritage in particular which has contributed the contents of its theme. Similarly, the concept of the unity of Sūrya and Śiva as was developed in Bali was definitely a derivation from the later Purāṇic traditions of Sun-cult as is enshrined in the *Samba Purāṇa*. There is no undue emphasis on the solar aspect of the Hindu Śiva in Bali. In India too the concept of the Sun as the highest reality identified with Śiva was a familiar theme in the Tantric Purāṇic circles. Further, the *Sūrya-sevana* ritual of Bali had definitely derived its life-blood from the *Samdhya* ritual of the Hindus and had solar element in it in an elevated philosophical form. The internal evidences supplied by the *Sūrya-stavas* of Bali reveal to us that the Sun-god was worshipped in human form too in Bali and this form is an exact replica of Indian solar iconography as preserved in the *Rūpa Maṇḍana* and a few other texts.

54. Srivastava, V. C., *Sun worship in Ancient India*, pp. 213, 46.

55. *Sanskrit Texts from Bali*, p. XXIX.

56. *Stuti and Stava* shows that No. 610 and 013 have in part a verse of the *Ādityahṛdaya* as found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and is current only in South India. The *stava* No. 247 gives one verse from the *Āditya-hṛdaya* of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.

It is also significant to note that the Balinese Hinduism is quite close to Indian Hinduism.⁵⁷ Other aspects of Balinese culture and society are closely allied to their Indian counterparts.⁵⁸

In view of all these direct and indirect evidences it is to be surmised⁵⁹ that Sun-worship in Bali derived its inspiration, sources and contents from the Purāṇic Tantric solar tradition of India. In our present state of knowledge of the pre-Hindu Balinese culture⁶⁰ it is practically impossible to tell the degree and amount of the impact, if any, of purely Balinese solar tradition on the Sun-worship in historic times.

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57. *Sanskrit Texts and Indian Religion in Bali*, op. cit., p. 561. V. Raghavan says while reviewing *Stuti and stava* that such stavas show the way the religious and mystic imagination in Bali worked, taking the Indian ideas and enlarging, mixing and creating new equations and amalgams but they are clearly extensions of an imagination working according to the true Indian genius: *Adyar Library Bulletin*, XXXVI, pp. 209-10. See J. Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia*.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 563.
59. C. Hooykaas in his article *The Treasure of Bali*, *R. C. Majumdar Felicitation Volume*, Calcutta, 1970, pp. 67-77 has shown as to how much still remains to be done in the field of literary treasures of Bali and therefore all conclusions must be tentative ones.
60. See, Q. Wales, *Pre-History and Religion in Southeast Asia*, London, 1957.

THE PURĀNIC INTERPRETATION OF THE RĠVEDIC MANTRA IV. 58.3*

By

SUDHAKAR MALAVIYA

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे लेखकेन ऋग्वेदस्य IV.58.3 मन्त्रस्य वैदिकभाष्यकारैः कृतानां विविधानां व्याख्यानानां समीक्षणपूर्वकं पुराणेषु कृतानां व्याख्यानानां निदर्शनं कृतम् । अस्य मन्त्रस्य विविध-विद्वद्भिन्नानां व्याख्यानानि प्रस्तुतानि । तानि व्याख्यानानि च न परस्परसंबद्धानि । तेषां सर्वेषां च संक्षेपेण समीक्षणं प्रदत्तं लेखकेन ।]

The text of this *mantra* is as follows:—

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो' अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्त'।सो अस्य ।
त्रिधा' बृहो वृषभो रो'रवीति महो देवो मर्त्या आ विवेश ॥

The *Vṛṣabha* who has four horns, three feet, two heads and seven hands, and who is bound in three places roars; the Great God has entered the mortals.

The meaning of this verse is obscure. It is not clear as to whom the words *Vṛṣabha* and *Maho devaḥ* refer to. Therefore, we find that this verse has been differently interpreted by different Vedic authorities from Yāska downwards in various contexts.

The numbers of the various limbs of the Bull mentioned in this *mantra* can easily be applied to the fundamentals of the different systems, sacrificial, grammatical, philosophical and so on. It is due to this reason that so many explanations and interpretations of this *mantra* are given by the scholars of different schools of Indian tradition. In this connection, it should be noted that the majority of the scholars take this *mantra* to apply to Sacrifice. Some of these interpretations are noted here.

The earliest available interpretation of this *Rk* in the Vedic circle is that of Yāska.¹ He takes *Maho Devaḥ* to be the sacrifice. He states that the four Vedas are meant by the term '*Catvāri Śṛṅgā*';

* I have great pleasure in acknowledging my gratitude for help received in preparation of this paper to my supervisor Dr. (Miss.) Padma Misra, Professor of Sanskrit, Banaras Hindu University.

1. *Nirukta*-XIII. 7.

the three Savanas are the three feet; two heads are *Prāyaṇīya* (beginning) and *udayaṇīya* (end); the seven hands are the seven Vedic metres; three bonds are *mantra*, *Brāhmaṇa* and *Kalpa*. *Roravṛti* means roars again and again. This roaring is taken to imply the recital of the *mantras* of the *R̥gveda*; performance of rites with the *mantras* of *yajus* and the singing of the *Sāman*. *Maho Devaḥ* means the great God who is Sacrifice. *Martyān āviveśa* means—entered in the mortals for the sacrifice. In support of his view, he gives the argument of 'atistuti' or exaggerated praise,³

Venkaṭamādhava, the ancient commentator of the *R̥gveda* while applying this verse to *Gaura*, does not give any detailed explanation.⁴ But the view of the *Ātharvaṇikas*, referred to by Venkaṭamādhava, is very valuable and important being the only source of *Ātharvaṇika* tradition regarding this verse. Their view is as follows—Four Vedas are meant by the term *Catvāri Śṛṅgā*; three feet are the three *savanas*; two heads are *Brahmaudana* and *Pravargya*, the seven hands are the seven metres; 'bound in three ways' indicates the binding by *mantra*, *kalpa* and *Brāhmaṇa*, the prayer in the sacrifice with the śastras of *R̥k*, *Yajus* and *Sāman* is the roaring of the *Vṛṣabha*. The Great God which is sacrifice, entered in the mortals.

The choice of deities suggested by *R̥k-Sarvānukramaṇī* is from amongst Agni, Sūrya, waters, cows and *Ghṛta*⁵. Sāyaṇācārya in his commentary says that since the presiding deity of this *R̥k* is one

2. Sri Brahmanuni explains *Prāyaṇīya* and *Udayaṇīya* in *Nirukta Sammarśa*—the heads of sacrifice mentioned by Yāska are *dakṣiṇāyana* and *uttarāyana* as regards the year in *Atirātra* ceremony; *darśa* and *purnamāsa* with regard to the month, morning and evening sacrifice with regard to day and night.

—Cf. Sarūp. L., *Nirukta* XIII. 7. p. 388.

'The beginning of the sacrifice is called *Prāyaṇīya* and the concluding ritual is known as *udayaṇīya*.'

—Chandramaṇi Vidyālakar—*Vedārtha dipaka Bhāṣya* —ibid. p. 389.

3. *Nirukta*—XIII. 1. अयेमा अतिस्तुतय इत्याचक्षते । अपि वा संप्रत्यय एव स्यात् । महाभाग्याद् देवतायाः ।
4. Venkaṭamādhava—*R̥gveda Bhāṣya* on IV. 58.3, p. 1635.
5. 'समुद्रादूर्मिरेकादशाग्नेयं जगत्यन्तं सौर्यं वापं वा गव्यं वा घृतस्तुतिर्वा'—ऋक् सर्वानुक्रमणी of Śaunaka. ।

of these five deities, it can be interpreted in five ways⁶. But he follows Yāska and identifies Agni with sacrifice as well as with Āditya. Following is the Explanation with regard to sacrifice:—

(i) The four horns of the sacrifice are the four Vedas, the three feet are the three *savanas* and the two heads are the two particular ceremonies termed *Brahmaudana* and *Pravargya*, the seven hands are the seven Vedic metres and the three bonds are *mantra* (the prayer), *Kalpa* (the ceremonial) and *Brāhmaṇa* (the rationale); *Vṛṣabha* is the showerer of rewards; the repetitive roaring is the sound of the repetition of hymns.

(ii) This also describes Āditya as—

The four horns of *Āditya* are the four cardinal points, the three feet are the three Vedas being the instruments of motion⁷, the two heads are day and night; the seven hands are the seven rays or the six seasons and their aggregate, or the year as the seventh, the three bonds are the three regions, earth, mid-air and heaven or summer, rainy and winter seasons; the roar of the *Vṛṣabha* implies the sound made by the repetition of the *mantras* of the Vedas. The Great God has entered the mortals as the regulator⁸.

It should be noted here that Sāyaṇa explains this verse in the *Rgveda* in the sacrificial context. But the same verse when quoted in the philosophical context in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* is interpreted by him so as to refer to 'Omkāra' (i.e. *Praṇava*)⁹. It is remarkable that the verse is applied to *Praṇava* and a detailed explanation of its different phases referring to *Omkāra* is also given in the *Skanda Purāṇa*¹⁰. Sāyaṇa seems to have been influenced by this interpretation while commenting upon this verse in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*. Following is the Explanation given by Sāyaṇa—

6. यद्यपि सूक्तस्याग्निः सूर्यादिपञ्चदेवताकत्वात् पञ्चधाज्यं मन्त्रो व्याख्येयस्तथापि निष्कान्त्युक्तनीत्या यज्ञात्मकाग्नेः सूर्यस्य च प्रकाशकत्वेन तत्परतया व्याख्यायते ।

Sāyaṇa—*Rgveda Bhāṣya* on IV. 58.3.

7. 'ऋग्भिः पूर्वाह्णे दिवि देव ईयते' इत्युपक्रम्य 'वेदैरशून्यस्त्रिभिरेति सूर्यः' T. B. III. 12.9.1. In this *Śruti*, the three Vedas, being the instruments of motion, are the feet.—*ibid*.

8. —*Rg.* 1.115.1—'सूर्य आत्मा जगतस्तस्थुषश्च' ।

9. Sāyaṇa on *Taitt. Ā.* X. 10.2.

10. *Skanda Purāṇa*, Kāśī khaṇḍa, 73.82—98.

The four horns of the *Praṇava* are the four syllables *akār*, *ukar*, *makār* and *nāda*, the three feet of this *Brahma* who is in the form of *Praṇava* are the *Viśva*, *Taijasa* and *Prājña*; from the *Ādhyātmic* point of view these are *Virāṭa*, *Hiraṇyagarbha* and *Ayākṛta*. The triple bound *Vṛṣabha* in the form of *Praṇava* roars, that is, propounds. The object of this is explained as the almighty and illuminous *Brahma Tatva*. That very God has entered the body of mortals from all sides. There is another श्रुति also that this God has entered from the head to the tips of the fingers.¹¹

Sāyaṇa explains this verse not only in the *Rgveda* and *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* but also in his *Rgveda Bhāṣya Bhūmikā*.¹² He says there—the object explained in this *mantra* is not seen. Such secondary descriptions of the sacrifice are like the following figurative descriptions of a river in the classical sanskrit literature. “The river has the cakravāka birds for her breasts, the swans for her teeth, reeds for her clothes and moss for her hair.” Secondary meaning is resorted to here as the direct meaning is not applicable.

Interpretation according to Mahīdhara, the commentator of *Śukla Yajurveda* is given below¹³—

(i) The four horns of sacrifice are the four priests, the *Hotṛ*, *Udgātṛ*, *Adhvaryu*, and *Brahmā*, the feet are the three Vedas; the two heads are the *Havirdhāna* and *Pavargya* rites;¹⁴ the hands are the seven priests or seven metres, the three bonds are the three daily sacrifices.

(ii) He somehow applies the terms to grammatical speech also which shows the influence of *Patañjali*—The four horns are nouns, verbs, prepositions and participles; the three feet are—either the three persons or the three tenses; the two heads are—the subject and object; the seven hands are—the seven cases, and the three bindings are—the three numbers; but this appears to be an uncalled for display of ingenuity in this context.

Whereas Sāyaṇa applies this verse to Agni who is identified either with sacrifice or with Āditya, Mahīdhara applies it to

11. Taitt. Ā.—X. 10.2.

12. Sāyaṇa, Rgveda Bhāṣya Bhūmikā.

13. Commentary of Uvvaṭa and Mahīdhara on *Śukla Yajurveda* XVII. 91.

14. Ibid. XVII. 91—‘शिर एवास्य हविर्धानं ग्रीवा वै यज्ञस्योपसदः शिरः प्रवर्ग्यः’ इति श्रुतेः ।

sacrifice only and explains the attributes accordingly but with an occasional difference. However, both commentators in one way or another follow *Ṛāṣka* in their explanation.

Interpretation according to Patañjali author of *Mahā Bhāṣya*¹⁵—

Patañjali, though earlier than Mahīdhara and Sāyaṇa, gives the meaning in a grammatical context, while enumerating the *Prayojana* of learning grammar. We can say that he is the first scholar to take this *Ṛk* in a secular context—the four horns are explained as the four parts of speech—noun, verb, preposition and indeclinable (निपात). Its three feet are the three tenses, past, present and future; two heads are the two kinds of *Śabda* eternal (नित्य) and non-eternal (काय).¹⁶ Its seven hands are the seven cases. It is bound threefold i. e. at three places, chest, neck and head.¹⁷ The word *Vṛṣabha* is derived from the root *Vṛṣ*. The word *roravīti* means 'makes noise', as the root *ru* means 'to produce noise'. The Great God entered the mortals—the Great God is *Śabda*,¹⁸ the word *martyān* literally means mortals or men.

In this way *Mahā devaḥ* here refers to *Śabda Brahma*. The Mahābhāṣyakāra says that the expression *catvāri* is taken by others to refer to the *Ṛk* under discussion. It clearly shows that this set of प्रयोजन was in vogue long before the time of Mahā Bhāṣyakāra. In the opinion of Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa the verses (i) *Catvāri Śṛṅgā...* (ii) *Catvāri Vākparimitā...*; (iii) *uta tvaḥ...*; and (iv) *Saktumiva* show that the study of grammar enables one to attain मोक्ष¹⁹.

15. Pātanjala Mahā Bhāṣya, Paśpaśāhnikā.

16. Indian grammarians recognise four phases of speech or sound, of which *Parā* is considered to be *Nitya* and the other three *Paśyantī*, *Madhyamā* and *Vaikharī* are *Kārya*.

17. Cf. A.V.—VII. 44.1—'तिस्रो वाचो निहिता अन्तरस्मिन् ...'
Cf. V. Rāmāyaṇa IV. 3.33—'...वाचा त्रिस्थानव्यञ्जनस्थया'

18. भर्तृहरि also takes वृषभ as शब्दब्रह्म in his वाक्यपदीय—
अपि प्रयोक्तुरात्मानं शब्दमन्तरवस्थितम् ।
प्राहुर्महान्तमृषभं येन सायुज्यमिष्यते ॥ वाक्यपदीय 1.31

19. 'Udyota' commentary by Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa on *Mahā-Bhāṣya*, Chowkhamba ed. p. 28.

According to *Pāṇiniya Mata darpaṇa* 'Śabda' is also expressed as the Great God.²⁰

In one of the modern Sanskrit commentaries of *Mahābhāṣya* named '*Tattvāloka*', it is stated that some explain it as²¹—The four Vedas are the four horns of this *Brahma*; the three feet are the *karma*, *upāsana* and *jñāna*, two heads are *jīva* and *īśa*; *Bhū*, *Bhuvah*, *Soah*, *Mahaḥ*, *Janah*, *Tapah*, *Satyam* or the set of seven worlds *Atala*, *Vitala*, *Sutala*, *Talātala*, *Rasātala*, *Pātala*, *Mahātala* are taken to be seven hands, the three bonds are *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*; this gracious *Vṛṣabha* roars.

In the *Purāṇas* this verse is mentioned in three ways—

(i) In the *Skanda Purāṇa* it is applied to the God *Śiva*²². The Commentator, *Rāmānanda* quotes this verse in the following context:²³ *Śiva* while narrating the importance and the significance of the twelve *jyotirlingas* describes in great detail the *Linga* seen by *Brahmā* after the completion of his penance. It is very significant that the *Rgvedic* verse is paraphrased here by the author of the *Purāṇa* in connection with this *Linga* who is also identified with *Prāṇava*. This reminds us of the interpretation of our verse in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and may be taken to indicate that this interpretation was prevalent in the philosophical circles.

(ii) In the *Agni Purāṇa*, part of this verse is mentioned as a यजुषः²⁴ *Puṣkara*, while narrating the merits resulting from

20. नामाख्यातनिपातोपसर्गशृङ्गस्त्रिकालपात् ।

कार्यताव्यङ्गतामूर्धा शब्दः सप्तविभक्तिदोः ॥

उरःकण्ठशिरोबद्धो वृषभः कामवर्षणात् ।

महान् देवो महत्त्वाय ज्ञातः स्यादिति च श्रुतिः

Quoted from पस्पशाह्निक, Ed. & Tran by Kshitish chandra Chatterji, second Edition, 1957, Calcutta-12, p. 21.

21. Commentary of Rudradhara Jha in *Pāṭāñjala Mahā Bhāṣya*, Chowkhambha ed. p. 25.

22. वृषभो यस्त्रिधाबद्धो रोरवीति महोमयः ।

स नेत्रविषयीचक्रे परमः परमेष्ठिना ॥

शृङ्गाश्रवत्वारि यस्यासन् हस्तासः सप्त एव च ।

द्वे शीर्षे च त्रयः पादाः स देवो विधिनैक्षत ॥

स्क० पु०, काशीखण्ड ७३. ९३, ९४ ।

23. Commentary of रामानन्द on *Skanda Purāṇa* on the above verse.

24. वाज० सं० 17-91, See अग्नि-पुराण, यजुर्विधान ch. 260-38 ।

yajurmantras, says that the repetition of the *mantra catvāri*...etc. in the water, removes all sins.²⁵

(iii) The salient features of this *mantra* also occur in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.²⁶ The commentaries on this Purāṇa explain it in favour of Sacrifice. It is said that—once, Aditi's happiness, peace and glory were snatched away by the demons. Kaśyapa taught her the fast of *Payoorata* to recover these, and directed her to worship God Viṣṇu in the form of *Vedī* (altar), the Sun, Agni and the Waters. The Vedic verse is modified and included in the general stotra. Śrīdhara, the renowned commentator specially applied it to praise the altar, and also asserts that this is in praise of sacrifice i.e. गुणावतार (incarnations) of Viṣṇu.²⁷

From these interpretations we can safely conclude that this verse was held in great importance by the scholars. Its importance is further proved by various references to it either in its entirety or in parts in various connections from the time of the *Brāhmaṇas* onwards. *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* relates this verse to Sacrifice.²⁸ *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* points to its application (विनियोग) in the course of *Ājyāhuti*.²⁹ In *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* this Sūkta is stated to be the *Ājya Śāstra* of the seventh day.³⁰ *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* also supports this view, and takes it to be the *Ājya Sūkta* of Seventh day in *Daśarātra* ceremony.³¹ The *Bṛhaddevatā* takes these Ṛks to be those of *Madhyamāgni* (fire of the middle region),³² and also men-

25. चत्वारि शृङ्गेत्येतत् तु सर्वपापहरं जले ।

अग्नि पुराण, यजुर्विधान २४०.१८ ab., मोर० Ed.

26. नमो द्विशिर्षे त्रिपदे चतुःशृङ्गाय तन्तवे ।

सप्त हस्ताय यज्ञाय त्रयीविद्यात्मने नमः ॥

भाग पु० ८.१६.३१, Ed. गीता प्रेस.

27. एवं सामान्यतो नत्वा गुणावतारान् प्रणमति त्रिभिः । तत्रादौ मन्त्रोक्त-
यज्ञरूपेण विष्णोः प्रणामो नम इति । द्वे शीर्षे यस्य । त्रयः पादा यस्य ।
तन्तवे फलविस्तारकाय । त्रयां विद्यायामात्मा यस्येति त्रिधा बद्ध इत्यस्यार्थं
उक्तः । तथा च मन्त्रः—चत्वारि.....

—commentary of श्रीधर on भाग ८.१६.११

28. गो० ब्रा० १.२.१६ ।

29. कौ० ब्रा० २५.१ ।

30. *Samudrād Ūrmir.....iti saptaṁasyāhna nityambhavati* A. B.
V. 16 6.

31. आश्व० श्रौ० ८-६.

32. बृह० 5.11.

tions that they may be applied to the Sun, Agni, Water, Ājya and cows.³³

This extraordinary verse has also been noticed in literary circles. The Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata indirectly refers to it in connection with Nāṭya.³⁴ Rājaśekhara, in his Kāvya-Mīmāṃsā applies this verse to the praise of Kāvya-Puruṣa,³⁵ but does not make it clear as to how it should be done. It is somehow explained in the modern commentary of Madhusūdana³⁶ as follows—

The four *Vṛttis* and *Pravṛttis* are the four horns of this Kāvya-Puruṣa, the three feet are the *Abhidhā*, *Lakṣaṇā* and *Vyañjanā*, two heads are the *Prakṛti* and *Pratyaya* or *Śabda* and *Artha*; noun, verb, preposition, indeclinable (निपात), *Karmpravacanīya*, *Gati* and *Avyaya* are the seven hands; the three bonds are prose, poetry and drama or *Mādhurya*, *Ojas* and *Prasāda*. The *Vṛṣabha*—the presiding deity of Kāvya, is the showerer of fame (यशः) and has entered the mortals.

This verse is rightly considered significant in philosophical circles. Kumārila (earlier than 4th cent. A. D.) explains it as *Arthavāda* in *Tantravārtika*.³⁷ According to him this verse is a prayer to Sacrifice in allegorical language. The sacrificial fire is described in the form of the Sun, deity of the day. The four horns of Āditya are the four parts of the day (प्रहर), the three feet are the three seasons, winter, summer and the rains. The two heads are *Dakṣhināyana* and *Uttarāyana*, the seven hands are the seven horses of the Sun, the three bonds are the three *Savanas*. The Almighty God has entered the hearts of the mortals. On account of pouring the

33. आदित्यं वा ब्राह्मणोक्तं प्रदिष्टम् आग्नेयं वाप्याज्यसूक्तं हि दृष्टम् ।
अपां स्तुति वा यदि वा घृतस्तुति गव्यमेके सौर्यमेतद्वदन्ति ॥

बृह० ५-११.

As mentioned in a Brāhmaṇa it is indicated as addressed either to the Sun (Āditya) or to Agni, for it appears as an Ājya hymn or some are of opinion, it is in praise of waters or in praise of Ghee or as addressed to cows, or to Sūrya.

34. Nāṭyaśāstra of भरत, 18.38.

35. Rājaśekhara-Kāvya Mīmāṃsā ch 3. p. 27, chow. Ed. 1930.

36. विवृत्ति commentary of Madhusūdana on Kāvya-mīmāṃsā p. 27.

37. Tantravārtika on 1.2.46.

rains, he is a *Vṛṣabha* and roars through thunder. This seems to have also impressed the author of *Mahānārāyaṇīyopaniṣad* as he has also quoted it.³⁸ Mādhavācārya of 14th century has also quoted it in his book *Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha*;³⁹ he takes it as शक्र, which he considers an active element and agrees with the explanation of Patañjali.

The main features of this *Mantra* have also been taken note of by Tulasidāsa, the author of *Rāmacaritamānasa*, whose assertion is that the ideas and views expressed and approved in the Vedas, Āgamas and Purāṇas have been incorporated in his book. The influence of the main features of the Vedic *mantra* are discernible in the description of the chariot of Dharma.⁴⁰ At the time of the first encounter of Rāma and Rāvaṇa on the battlefield, Vibhiṣaṇa becomes very agitated on noticing the disparity between their respective equipments. In answer to his question as to how Rāma can conquer Rāvaṇa, the former describes the chariot of *Dharma* which is essential for real victory. The numbers mentioned in this connection strongly remind us of the numbers that occur in the Vedic verse. We shall now try to compare the two. The four horns may be taken to be the four horses, the three feet may be considered the two wheels and the charioteer, the necessary factors for the proper movement of the chariot; the two heads may be the two banners; the seven hands may be the various arms and the armour; the three bonds may be the three ropes binding the horses to the chariot.

The mystical language of this verse creates a vagueness and thus offers an opportunity to interpret it in various ways. Different meanings are thus due to the dynamic quality of Sanskrit language. Though this verse has been interpreted in sacrificial, philosophical and secular contexts, we find the majority of explanations in favour of Sacrifice. We can, therefore, safely conclude that it is an *atistuti* of Sacrifice expressed in allegorical language.⁴¹

38. *Mahānārāyaṇīyopaniṣad*, 10.1.

39. Mādhavācārya-Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha, Chow. Ed p. 588.

40. *Rāmacaritamānasa*, Gita press, Lanka-kāṇḍa 79-80.

41. Wilson here observes—

This Sūkta, which is probably ancient, is a good specimen of Vedic vagueness, and mystification, and of the straits to which commentators are put to extract an intelligible meaning from the Text.

see note on Rgveda Tran. Vol. III, Poona Ed. p. 379.

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST
(July-Dec., 1974)

PURĀṆA-WORK

Varāha-Purāṇa

Collation :

The collation of the following 17 manuscripts have been completed :—

- 12 Devanāgarī Manuscripts.
- 2 Bengali Manuscripts.
- 1 Nandināgarī Manuscript
- 1 Malayalam Manuscript
- 1 Telugu Manuscript

(The details of these manuscripts have been given in *Purāṇa*, Vol XVI., 1-2).

The following 2 manuscripts are being collated :—

- 1. Bengali MS (microfilm) from the Sanskrit College, Calcutta.
- 2. Grantha MS. (Copyflo), K. 6807, from the India Office Library, London.

It has not been possible to get the Bengali MS. of the Varāhapurāṇa from the Vangīya Sahitya Parishad inspite of our best efforts through persons like Dr. S. K. Chatterji. Similar has been the cases of the Kannad MS. from Krishnapuram Mutt, Udipi (Mysore) and of the Oriya MS. from the Utkala University, Bhuvaneshwar.

Collection of Varāha-Purāṇa Quotations :

Besides the Nibandhas mentioned in *Purāṇa*. XVI. 1 (p. 120) quotations from the following Nibandhas have also been collected :—

- 1. आचारमयूख by Nilakanṭha Bhaṭṭa; 2. कालविवेक by Jimūta-vāhaha; 3. कालसार by Gadādhara; 4. गृहस्थरत्नाकर by Candēśvara Thakkura; 5. जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम by Ratnākara Dikṣita; 6. त्रिस्थलीसेतु by

सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जुलाई-दिसम्बर १९७४)

पुराणसंबन्धानि कार्याणि

वराहपुराणम्

पाठसंवादकार्यम्—

अद्यावधि अधोनिर्दिष्टानां सप्तदश हस्तलेखानां पाठसंवादकार्यं पूर्णं जातम्—

द्वादश देवनागरीलिपिहस्तलेखाः

द्वौ बंगलिपिहस्तलेखौ

एको नन्दिनागरीलिपिहस्तलेखः

एको मलयायलमलिपिहस्तलेखः

एकः तेलगूलिपिहस्तलेखः

एषां सर्वेषां हस्तलेखानां विस्तृतः परिचयः 'पुराणम्' पत्रिकायां षोडशवर्षीययोः (१९७४) प्रथमद्वितीयाङ्कयोः प्रदत्तः ।

संप्रति अधोनिर्दिष्टयोर्द्वयोर्हस्तलेखयोः पाठसंवादकार्यं प्रचरति—

१. संस्कृतकालेज, कलकत्ता, संस्थायाः प्राप्तः एको बङ्गलिपिहस्तलेखः (माइक्रोफिल्मप्रतिः)

२. इण्डिया आफिस लाइब्रेरी, लण्डन इत्यतः प्राप्तः एक ग्रन्थलिपिहस्तलेखः (कापीफ्लोप्रतिः)

अस्माकं सुप्रयत्नानन्तरं तथा डा० सुनीतिकुमारचटर्जिमहोदयस्य सहयोगानन्तरमपि बङ्गीयसाहित्यपरिषदः बङ्गलिपिनिबद्धस्य वाराहपुराणस्य हस्तलेखस्य प्राप्तिः नाभूत् । एतादृशी एव अवस्था उडुपी नगरस्थस्य श्रीकृष्णपुरमठस्य कन्नडलिपिहस्तलेखस्य तथा भुवनेश्वरस्थस्य उत्कलविश्वविद्यालयस्य उत्कललिपिहस्तलेखस्यापि अस्ति ।

वाराहपुराणस्योद्धरणानां संकलनम्

'पुराणम्' पत्रिकायाः षोडशवर्षीये प्रथमाङ्के (पृ० १२०) निर्दिष्टानां निबन्धग्रन्थानामतिरिक्तमधोनिर्दिष्टेभ्यो निबन्धग्रन्थेभ्यो वाराहपुराणस्योद्धरणानां संकलनं कृतम्—

१. नीलकण्ठभट्टकृत आचारमयूखः २. जीमूतवाहनकृतः कालविवेकः, ३. गदाधरभट्टकृतः कालसारः, ४. चण्डेश्वरठक्कुरविरचितो गृहस्थरत्नाकरः, ५. रत्नाकरदीक्षितकृतो जयसिंहकल्पद्रुमः, ६. नारायण-

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa; 7. त्रिस्थलांसेतुसार by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita; 8. नित्याचार-पद्धति by Vidyākara Vājapeyī; 9. प्रायश्चित्तविवेक by Śūlapāṇi; 10. वर्ष-क्रियाकौमुदी by Govindānanda; 11. विधानमाला by Nṛsiṃha Bhaṭṭa; 12. समयमयूख by Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa; 13. स्मृतिरत्नाकर by Veṅkaṭaṇātha.

Subject-concordance :

The subject-concordance of the Varāha Purāṇa with the other Purāṇas (Cf. *Purāṇa*, XVI. 2, p. 262) is being prepared. Up to this time the subject-concordance upto Adh. 100 of the Varāha purāṇa has been tentatively prepared.

Constitution of the Text

The text of the Varāha-purāṇa is being constituted mainly on the basis of the collated manuscripts. Critical apparatus is also being prepared. Critical apparatus of some 20 Adhyāyas has already been prepared.

It is proposed to publish the Varāha-Purāṇa in two volumes, for, it contains about 10,000 ślokaś, and therefore, is double the size of the Vāmana or the Kūrma Purāṇa. The first volume will consist of about 100 Adhyāyas and the second volume will consist of the remaining Adhyāyas. The Introduction, appendices, śloka-index etc. will be included in the second volume.

Purāṇa pāṭha and Pravacana

The Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa was recited in the morning in the Padmanābha temple of Ramnagar from 19 to 25 November 1974 (Kārtika Śukla 5-11) by Pt. Gopal Shastri Dongre, and discourses on it were given by Pt. Vishvanath Sastri Datar in the evening on these days.

Veda-Pārāyaṇa

The Śukla Yajurveda Saṃhitā was recited from memory by Pt. Hiralal Audichya, a teen-aged boy, in the Śiva-temple of the Śivāla Palace, Varanasi, from 30th June to 4th July, 1974 (Āṣāḍha-Śukla 11-15). On conclusion of the Pārāyaṇa the dakṣhiṇā was given.

Scholars who sought information for their Purāṇic Studies

1. Dr. Bishwanath Bhattacharya, Santiniketan, W. B. In connection with his work of the critical edition of Jayarāma's commentary '*Tilaka*' on the Kāvya-prakāśa he enquired about the source of the Varāha-purāṇa quotation—"*Harir harate pāpāni duṣṭacittair api smṛtaḥ*" contained in the '*Tilaka*' commentary. (Letter 2.11.74)

भट्टकृतः त्रिस्थलीसेतुः, ७. भट्टोजिदीक्षितकृतः त्रिस्थलीसेतुसारः, ८. विद्याकरवाजपेयिकृता नित्याचारपद्धतिः, ९. शूलपाणिकृतः प्रायश्चित्त-विवेकः, १०. गोविन्दानन्दकृता वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी, ११. नृसिंहभट्टकृता विधानमाला, १२. नीलकण्ठभट्टकृतः समयमयूखः, १३. वेङ्कटनाथकृतः स्मृतिरत्नाकरः ।

विषयसाम्यम्

अन्यपुराणैः सह वराहपुराणस्य विषयसाम्यसंकलनकार्यं प्रचरति (द्र० पुराणम् पत्रिका XVI.2 पृ० २६२)। अद्यावधि वाराहपुराणस्य शताध्यायानां विषयसाम्यं प्राथमिकरूपेण संपन्नम् ।

पाठसंपादनकार्यम्

संवादितहस्तलेखानामाधारेण वराहपुराणस्य पाठनिर्धारणकार्यं संपाद्यमानं वर्तते । पाठान्तरलेखनकार्यमपि संपाद्यमानं वर्तते । अद्यावधि च विंशतिरध्यायानां पाठान्तरलेखनकार्यं संपूर्णम् ।

वराहपुराणस्य परिमाणो वामनपुराणस्य कूर्मपुराणस्य वा अपेक्षया प्रायेण द्विगुणं वर्तते यतोऽस्मिन् श्लोकानां संख्या प्रायेण दशसहस्रमस्ति । अतो विचारमस्ति यदस्य प्रकाशनं द्वयोः खण्डयोः भवेत् । प्रथमखण्डे अध्यायशतस्य प्रकाशनं भविष्यति अपरखण्डे च अवशिष्टानामध्यायानां भूमिकायाः परिशिष्टानां च प्रकाशनं भविष्यति ।

पुराणपाठः प्रवचनं च

कार्तिकमासस्य शुक्लपक्षे पञ्चमीं तिथिमारभ्य एकादशीपर्यन्तं (नवम्बर १९-२५, १९७४) रामनगरस्थे पद्मनाभमन्दिरे पण्डितगोपाल-शास्त्रिडोंगरेमहोदयेन विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणस्य पाठः कृतः । तेष्वेव दिनेषु सायं-समये तत्पुराणविषये पण्डितविश्वनाथशास्त्रिदातारमहोदयेन प्रवचनं कृतम् ।

वेदपारायणम्

आषाढमासे शुक्लपक्षे एकादशीं तिथिमारभ्य पूर्णिमापर्यन्तं (३० जून-४ जुलाई, १९७४) सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य शिवालाभवनस्थे शिव-मन्दिरे शुक्लयजुर्वेदसंहितायाः स्मृत्याधारेण पारायणं अल्पवयस्केन पण्डित-हीरालाल श्रीदीच्यमहोदयेन कृतम् । पारायणसमाप्ती पाठकर्त्रे दक्षिणा प्रदत्ता ।

विद्वांसो येभ्यः तेषां पौराणिकाध्ययने ज्ञातव्यं सूचितम्

१. विश्वभारतीविश्वविद्यालयशान्तिनिकेतनस्य डा० विश्वनाथ-भट्टाचार्यः—एष महाभागः 'काव्यप्रकाश' ग्रन्थस्य जयरामकृतायाः 'तिलक' टीकायाः पाठसमीक्षात्मकं संस्करणं संपादयति । तत्र 'तिलके' पुराणस्य एकमुद्धरणं—'हरिर्हरते पापानि दुष्टचित्तैरपि स्मृतः' वर्तते । एष महाभागः अस्योद्धरणस्य पुराणेषु स्थलनिर्देशं (मूलं) कामयते । (२.११.१४ दिनाङ्कितं पत्रम्) ।

2. Dr. Lokesh Chandra, M. P., inquired about the reference of the Adh. etc. of the Varāha-Purāṇa for the śloka—
“अमरायोपधोज्ज्यानि गन्धं दधि पयो घृतम् । माहिषं चाविकं द्वागमयज्ञियमुदाहृतम्॥”
quoted in the *Vīramitrodaya*, Pūjā-prakāśa. p. 80, as from the Varāha-Purāṇa. (Letter 14th Nov., 1974).
3. Principal Dayanand Bhargava, Shri Ranbir Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Jammu, inquired about availability of a manuscript of the ‘मृद्धीशसंहिता’ of which ‘भुवन-कोशवर्णनोद्योत’ forms a part, and the ‘वासुकिस्थानवर्णनं’ is the 90th chapter (नवतितमपटलः) of the ‘भुवनकोशवर्णनोद्योत’. (Letter, 19th Nov., 1974).
4. Dr. M. Baistrocchi, Dy. Commercial Councillor, Ambasciata d’ Italia, New Delhi, enquired about the legend of ‘Sambal Desh’ where Kalki Avatāra is said to appear, and also about the origin of the names of the two places ‘Agartala’ and ‘Agartipalam’ both in the Andhra-Pradesh and the other details of importance about them. (Letter 26th Nov., 1974).

Appropriate replies have been sent to them.

Scholars who visited the Purāṇa-Department

1. Dr. Bettina Baumer, Salsburg, Austria; Present address—B. 1/177, Assi. Varanasi, (27.9.74).
2. The eminent German Philosopher. Prof. Dr. Graf K. von Durckheim, 7867 Todtmoos, Schwarzwald, W. Germany. (5.11.74).
3. Prof. Dr. Baldoon Dhingra, 1, Villa Pauline, 92600 Asnieres, Paris, France. (5.11.74).
4. Dr. Mario Piantelli, Institute d’ Indologia of the University of Turin, Italy. Inquired about the MSS. of the Īśvara-gītā of the Kūrma-Purāṇa and its commentaries, which were shown to him. A copy of the ‘Purāṇa’ Bulletin was also presented to him.
5. Mr. John Mitchiner, a student of Dr. Wendy O’ Flaherty of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, sent here by her to study Purāṇic material on the *Sapta-r̥ṣis*. He came here in October last and is still here, taking necessary help from the Purāṇa-Department on his research topic.
6. The Kūrma-Purāṇa (English translation) was presented to Dr. Chenna Reddy, Governor of U. P. when he visited Ramnagar Fort on 20th Nov. 1974.

२. संसत्सदस्यः डा० लोकेशचन्द्रः वीरमित्रोदयग्रन्थस्य पूजाप्रकाश-
भागे (पृ० ८०) वराहपुराणादुद्धृतस्य 'अमरायोपयोज्यानि गण्यं दधि पयो
घृतम् । माहिषं चाविकं छागमयज्ञियमुदाहृतम् ।' पद्यस्य अध्यायादिकं
जिज्ञासितवान् (१४ नवम्बर १९७४ दिनाङ्कितं पत्रम्) ।

३. जम्मूनगरस्थस्य श्रीरणवीर केन्द्रियसंस्कृत विद्यापीठस्य प्राचार्यः
श्रीदयानन्द भार्गवः जिज्ञासितवान् यद् भृङ्गीशसंहिताग्रन्थस्य हस्तलेखः
उपलब्धो वर्तते न वेति । भुवनकोशवर्णनोद्योतः भृङ्गीशसंहिताया एको भागो
वर्तते तथा वासुकिस्थानवर्णनमस्य भुवनकोशवर्णनोद्योतस्य एकः पटलः
(नवतितमः पटलो) वर्तते (१९ नवम्बर १९७४ दिनाङ्कितं पत्रम्) ।

४. इटलीदेशस्य दिल्ली नगरस्थदूतावासस्य अधिकारी डा० एम०
बैस्ट्रोची महोदयः भगवतः कल्केरवतारस्थलरूपेण ख्यातस्य सम्भलदेशस्य
विषये जिज्ञासितवान् । एष महोदयः आन्ध्रप्रदेशे स्थितयोः 'अगरतला'
तथा 'अर्गतिपलम्' नाम्ना ख्यातयोर्द्वयोः स्थानयोः उत्पत्तिविषये महत्त्व-
विषयेऽपि जिज्ञासितवान् (२६ नवम्बर १९७४ दिनाङ्कितं पत्रम्) ।

एभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः यथोचितमुत्तरं प्रदत्तम् ।

पुराणविभागे आगता विद्वांसः

१. साल्सबुर्ज, आस्ट्रिया, वास्तव्या डा० वेतिना वॉमर महोदया
एषा महाभागा सम्प्रति वाराणस्यां निवसति (२७.६.७४) ।
२. पश्चिमजर्मनीदेशीयः प्रसिद्धदार्शनिकः डा० दुर्खाइम महोदयः
(५.११.७४) ।
३. प्रो० वाल्डून धींग्रा महोदयः संप्रति एष महाभागः फ्रान्सदेशस्य
कैटिसननगरे वसति (५.११.७४) ।
४. इटलीदेशस्य टुरिन विश्वविद्यालये प्राध्यापकः डा० मारिओ
पियाण्टेली महोदयः । एष महाभागः कूर्मपुराणान्तर्भूतायाः ईश्वर-
गीतायाः तदुपरि टीकानां च हस्तलेखानां विषये जिज्ञासितवान् ।
हस्तलेखाः तस्मै प्रदर्शिताः । 'पुराणम्' पत्रिका या एका प्रति-
रपि तस्मै उपहारीकृता ।
५. लण्डनविश्वविद्यालये 'स्कूल आफ ओरियण्टल एण्ड अफ्रिकन
स्टडीज' संस्थायाः प्राध्यापिकाया डा० फ्लाहर्टीमहाभागा-
याश्छात्रः जान मिचनर महोदयः—एष महाभागः 'सप्तर्षि'
विषये अन्वेषणं करोति काले-काले च पुराणविभागे अध्यय-
नार्थमागच्छति, उचितं साहाय्यं च प्राप्नोति । अक्टूबर मासे
एष महाभागो वाराणसीमागतः अद्यावधि अत्र निवसति ।
६. उत्तरप्रदेशस्य राज्यपालः डा० चेन्नारेड्डी महोदयः २० नवम्बर
१९७४ दिनाङ्के रामनगरदुर्गमागतः । तस्मै कूर्मपुराणस्य
आङ्गलभाषानुवादस्य एका प्रतिः समर्पिता ।

OTHER ACTIVITIES OF THE KASHIRAJ TRUST

Kashiraj Study-Centre of Indian Culture and Yoga

As already noted in the last Review (*Purāṇa*, XVI. 2, July 1974) 'the Kashiraj Study-Centre of Indian Culture and Yoga' was inaugurated last year on 29th January, 1974 by Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan of Madras University and was graced and blessed by Jagadguru Śaṅkarācārya of Kāmakoti Pīṭham. The Centre has been established to meet the need of the students of the Indian culture, religion and philosophy, and specially of the foreign students who come to India primarily for such a study.

Lectures on yoga philosophy, ancient symbolism, Indian philosophy, Indian culture, Indian dance and music were delivered by eminent and well-versed scholars of these subjects.

Mrs. Mary Chatterjee, and Miss Uma Marina Vesci have very kindly taken pains in organising the Study-Centre and its lecture-programmes during this period.

the following scholars gave their learned talks :

1. Dr. U Nu, Ex. Prime-Minister of Burma.
2. Dr. Count Durckheim of West Germany.
3. Dr. Das Gupta of Arts Faculty, B.H.U.
4. Dr. R. K. Tripathi, Head of the Philosophy Deptt. B. H. U.

Rāmalilā

The famous Rāmalilā of Ramnagar which has acquired an international importance of cultural value and is also visited by Indian and foreign dignatories who happen to visit Varanasi on this occasion was celebrated from 30 September (Ananta-caturdaśī Day) to 29 October, 1974 under the auspices of the All-India Kashiraj Trust. Some scholars from the Purāṇa Department also supervised the distribution of foodration to the Sādhus and the poor who came to visit the Rāmalilā

All India Oriental Conference at Kurukṣetra

Shri Anand Swarup Gupta, Asstt. Director of the Purāṇa Deptt., attended this Session of the Conference as the Delegate of the all India Kashiraj Trust. The Session was held from 26-28 Dec. 1974 in the Kuruksetra University.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SISTER TRUSTS

Maharaja Udit Narain Singh Mānasa Prachara Nidhi

Under the auspices of this Trust the Tulasī-Jayantī, owing to the frequent strikes in the educational institutions, was celebrated in four phases as follows—

काशिराजन्यासस्य इतरकार्याणि

भारतीयसंस्कृतेः योगस्य चाध्ययनार्थं काशिराज अध्ययन केन्द्रम्—
यथा पूर्वस्मिन् कार्यविवरणे सूचितं (पुराणम् XVI.2 जुलाई १९७४) काशिराज अध्ययनकेन्द्रस्य उद्घाटनं मद्रासविश्वविद्यालयस्य प्राध्यापकेन डा० टी० एम० पी० महादेवन्महोदयेन कृतम् । अस्मिन् उद्घाटने काञ्चिकामकोटिपीठस्य शंकराचार्याः श्री जयेन्द्रसरस्वतीमहोदया अपि उपस्थिता आसन् आशीर्वचनैश्च अध्ययनकेन्द्रं अभिवर्धयामासुः । इदं केन्द्रम् भारतीय संस्कृतेर्धर्मस्य दर्शनस्य च विषये अध्येतॄणां विशेषतो वैदेशिकानां छात्राणां ये भारते अध्ययनार्थमागच्छन्ति लाभाय स्थापितमस्ति ।

वाराणसीवास्तव्या श्रीमती मेरी चटर्जी महाभागा, इटलीदेशीया कुमारी उमा मेरिना वेस्को महाभागा च व्याख्यानानामायोजने अध्ययनकेन्द्रस्य कार्ये च सहयोगं दत्तवत्यौ ।

योगदर्शनविषये, प्राचीनप्रतीकविषये, भारतीयदर्शनविषये, भारतीय-संस्कृतिविषये भारतीयनृत्यगीतविषये च तत्तद्विषये प्रथितानां सुविज्ञानां च विदुषां व्याख्यानानि संपन्नानि । अस्यां कार्यावधौ वर्मदेशस्य भूतपूर्व-प्रधानमन्त्री डा० ऊनू महाभागः, पश्चिम जर्मनदेशीयः डा० के० वोन दुर्खाइममहाभागः, हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयस्य कलासंकाये प्राध्यापकः डा० दास-गुप्तमहोदयः, काशिक हिन्दू विश्वविद्यालये दर्शनविभागाध्यक्षः डा० रमाकान्तत्रिपाठिमहाभागश्च व्याख्यातारो आसन् ।

रामलीला

सर्वभारतीय काशिराज न्यासस्य तत्त्वावधाने संपाद्यमाना रामनगरस्य विश्वप्रथिता रामलीला अस्मिन् वर्षे ३० सितम्बर १९७४ (अनन्तचतुर्दशी) तिथिमारभ्य २६ अक्टूबर १९७४ तिथिं यावत् संपन्ना । अस्या लीलाया दर्शनार्थं देशिकाः तस्मिन् अवधौ वाराणसीमागता वैदेशिकाश्चागच्छन्ति । रामलीलादर्शनार्थमागतेभ्यः साधुभ्यः दोनेभ्यश्च अन्नवितरणकार्यस्य निरीक्षणे पुराणविभागस्य केचन विद्वांसोऽपि साहाय्यं दत्तवन्तः ।

कुरुक्षेत्रनगरे संपन्नं सर्वभारतीय प्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनम्

पुराणविभागस्योपनिदेशकः श्रीआनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तमहोदयः सर्वभारतीय-काशिराजन्यासस्य प्रतिनिधिरूपेण तस्मिन् सम्मेलने सम्मिलितः । सम्मेलनं १९७४ वर्षस्य दिसम्बरमासस्य २६-२८ दिनाङ्केषु कुरुक्षेत्रविश्वविद्यालये संपन्नम् ।

सहयोगिन्यासानां कार्यविवरणम्

महाराज उदित नारायण सिंह मानस प्रचारनिधिः

अस्य न्यासस्य तत्त्वावधाने तुलसीजयन्त्युत्सवः स्थानीयविद्यालयेषु छात्रान्दोलनकारणात् चतुर्षु खण्डेषु संपन्नः

1. July 25, 1974—The students of the Vidyamandir divided themselves into two parties which competed with each other on the Rāmacarita-mānasa. After this competition a few scholars gave their discourses on the importance of works of Tulasī-dāsa. The prasāda was distributed in the end. (Place—Vidya-mandir premises).
2. August 2, 1974—On this day the Śīśu-mandir (Infant-school), a Primary school and a Junior school of Ramnagar, besides the students of the Vidya-mandir, took part in the competition of the *mānasa antyākṣari*, and recitations from Tulasī-literature. August 16 was fixed for the distribution of the prizes to the winners. (Vidya-mandir premises).
- (3) August 13, 1974—This phase of the Tulasī-Jayantī was celebrated in the Maharaja Balwant Singh Degree college, Gangapur, in which some other Institutions from Varanasi, Mirzapur, Aurai etc., besides the Vidya-mandir, participated. The function was presided by His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh. The function was a big success. Prizes were distributed in the end.
4. August 16, 1974—On this day the 4th and the last phase of the Tulasī-Jayantī was celebrated in the Vidyamandir premises. The celebration was presided by Sushri Youngest Maharajkumari. On behalf of the Mānasa-Prachāra-Nidhi, the famous Tulasī-scholar, Sant shri Akhileshwar Das Ji of Ayodhya was honoured with cash and shawl etc. An address (*māna-pāṭra*) in an ivory-frame was also presented to him. Shri Akhileshwar Das Ji gave his learned discourse on the kindheartedness of Shri Rāma. Prof. Vishwanath Prasad Misra exhorted the audience to disseminate the message of Rāmāyaṇa, and the President, Sushri Maharajkumari in her speech explained how the message of Tulasī can suit to our own age also by giving it a new interpretation according to the needs of the times. The prizes were distributed to the students in the form of the books of Gosvāmī Tulasī-dāsa.

The following Essay-competitions were also announced on behalf of this Trust:—

- (1) 'मानस का प्रधान प्रतिपाद्य रस' for Degree and Post-Graduate students. Prize Rs. 100/- for the best Essay.

(१) २५ जुलाई १९७४—विद्यामन्दिरस्यैव छात्राः पक्षप्रतिपक्षयोः विभक्ता जाताः । रामचरितमानसविषये तेषां प्रतियोगितासमाप्तौ कतिपये विद्वांसः तुलसीदासस्य ग्रन्थानां महत्त्वविषये प्रवचनं कृतवन्तः । अन्ते प्रसादवितरणं संजातम् । विद्यामन्दिरस्य प्राङ्गणे एषा प्रतियोगिता संपन्ना ।

(२) २ अगस्त १९७४—अस्मिन् दिने मानस-अन्त्याक्षरी-प्रतियोगितायां तुलसीसाहित्यस्य पाठप्रतियोगितायां च रामनगरदुर्गस्थस्य विद्यामन्दिरस्य, स्थानिकशिशुमन्दिरस्य, एकस्य जूनियर हाईस्कूल विद्यालयस्य च छात्राः सम्मिलिता आसन् । १६ अगस्त १९७४ दिनाङ्के पुरस्कारवितरणस्य तिथिरूपेण निश्चितः । इदं पुरस्कारवितरणं विद्यामन्दिरस्य प्राङ्गणे भविष्यतीत्यपि निश्चितम् ।

(३) १३ अगस्त १९७४—एष उत्सवः गंगापुरस्थस्य महाराज बलवन्तसिंह महाविद्यालयस्य प्राङ्गणे संपन्नः । अस्मिन् उत्सवे विद्यामन्दिरस्य छात्राः, महाराज बलवन्त सिंह महाविद्यालयस्य छात्राः, वाराणसी-मिर्जापुर जनपदयोः केषांचिद् अन्येषां विद्यालयानां छात्राश्च सम्मिलिता आसन् । अस्योत्सवस्याध्यक्षता तत्रभवद्भिः काशिनरेशैः महाराजैः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयैः कृता । एष उत्सवः अत्यन्तसाफल्येन संवृत्तः । अन्ते पुरस्कारवितरणं संजातम् ।

(४) १६ अगस्त १९७४—अस्मिन् दिने तुलसीजयन्त्युत्सवस्य चरमं चतुर्थं चरणं रामनगरदुर्गस्थे विद्यामन्दिरप्राङ्गणे संपन्नम् । उत्सवस्याध्यक्षता कनिष्ठया महाराजकुमार्या कृता । 'महाराज उदित नारायणसिंह मानस प्रचार निधि' न्यासेन अयोध्यायाः प्रथितः सन्तः श्री अखिलेश्वरदासमहाराजः द्रव्यैः प्रावारकैः हस्तिदन्तकाष्ठेन मण्डितेन प्रशस्तिपत्रेण च सभाजितः । सन्तश्रीअखिलेश्वरदासेन रामस्य कारुण्यविषये प्रवचनं कृतम् । आचार्य पं० विश्वनाथप्रसादमिश्रः स्वभाषणे रामचरितमानसस्य उपदेशानां जीवने उपयोगित्वं व्याख्यातवान् । अध्यक्षासने विराजमानया कनिष्ठमहाराजकुमार्या प्रतिपादितं यद् आधुनिक समयेऽपि मानसस्य उपदेशानां समयानुरूपनवीनव्याख्यानद्वारा उपयोगित्वं वर्तते । अन्ते छात्रेभ्यः पुरस्काररूपेण तुलसीदासकृता ग्रन्थाः प्रदत्ताः ।

अस्मिन्नवसरे निबन्धप्रतियोगिताया अपि घोषणा कृता । निबन्धस्य अधोनिर्दिष्टे द्वे विषये स्वीकृते आस्ताम्—

(१) स्नातक-स्नातकोत्तरछात्राणां कृते—“मानस का प्रधान प्रतिपाद्य रस” एकः पुरस्कारः सर्वोत्तमनिबन्धलेखकाय १०० रूप्यकाणां विज्ञापितः ।

- (2) 'मानस पर किये गये प्रमुख आक्षेपों का निराकरण' for the Kathā-reciters and Vyāsas. Prize Rs. 500/- on the best essay. The Essays should reach the Secretary of the Trust by Rāma-Navamī (April 20, 1975).

Maharaja Kashiraj Dharmakarya Nidhi

The Trust gives prizes of Rs. 101/- and medals to the students who secure highest position in Sanskrit examinations in B. H. U., Sanskrit University, Varanasi, and Kashi Naresh Govt. Degree College, Gyanpur. It also gives donations to various educational and cultural institutions.

The Trust is running the following educational institutions for the Oriental and modern learning:

(1) *For the teaching of the Yajurveda:—*

The Trust wants to revive the tradition of the Vedic learning. At present arrangements have been made to give regular training in memorising the bulky Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the Śukla Yajurveda.

(2) *Maharani Ramaratna Kunwari Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā*

This Pāṭhaśālā was established in 1923 A. D. to impart Sanskrit education. The Pāṭhaśālā is now giving education upto the Uttara Madhyamā examination of the Sanskrit University. The result of this Pāṭhaśālā is generally good.

(3) *Maharaja Balwant Singh Degree College*

The College was established in July 1972 at Gangapur (District Varanasi), the birth-place of Late Maharaja Balwant Singh, founder of the Kashirājya at Ramnagar. The College imparts education in Arts upto the Degree examinations of the Gorakhpur University.

(4) Raja Manasā Rāma Law College, Raja Talab, has been started from the *Akṣayanavamī tithi* (i.e. from Nov. 23, 1975). The strength of the students at present is 35. While inaugurating the College H. H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh stressed the need of legal education and advised the students and staff to continue their studies with dedication.

(२) मानसकथावाचकानां व्यासानां च कृते—

“मानस पर किये गये प्रमुख आक्षेपों का निराकरण” एकः पुरस्कारः सर्वोत्तमनिबन्धस्य लेखकाय दास्यते । अयं पुरस्कारः ५००) रूप्यकाणां भविष्यति । निबन्धः रामनवमीदिनात् (२० अप्रैल १९७५) प्राक् न्यासस्य सचिवाय समर्पितव्यः ।

महाराज काशिराजधर्मकार्य निधिः

एष न्यासः काशिक हिन्दुविश्वविद्यालये, वाराणसेय संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालये ज्ञानपुरनगरस्थे काशिनरेश स्नातकोत्तरमहाविद्यालये च संस्कृतविषये सर्वोच्च अङ्कप्राप्तकर्तृभ्यः छात्रेभ्यः पदकानि १०१) रूप्यकाणां पुरस्कारञ्च ददाति । एष न्यासः विविधसांस्कृतिकशैक्षणिकसंस्थाभ्यः साहाय्यं ददाति । एष न्यासः प्राच्यविद्या प्रसारार्थमाधुनिकविद्याप्रसारार्थं च अधोनिर्दिष्टानां शिक्षासंस्थानानां संचालनं करोति—

(१) यजुर्वेदस्याध्यापनम्—न्यासोऽयं वैदिकपरम्परायाः शिक्षायाश्च पुनरुद्धारं कर्तुमीहते । संप्रति शुक्लयजुर्वेदस्य शतपथब्राह्मणस्य शिक्षणस्य व्यवस्था प्रचलति ।

(२) महारानी रामरत्नकुंअरि संस्कृत पाठशाला, रामनगर—संस्कृत-शिक्षाप्रदानार्थमेषा पाठशाला १९२३ ई० वर्षे स्थापिता आसीत् । एषा पाठशाला वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य उत्तररमध्यमाकक्षां यावत् शिक्षाप्रदानं करोति । पाठशालायाः परीक्षाफलं प्रायशः उत्तमं भवति ।

(३) महाराज बलवन्त सिंह महाविद्यालय, गंगापुर—महाविद्यालयस्य स्थापना जुलाई, १९७२ वर्षे कृता । गंगापुर नगरं वर्तमानकाशिराज्यस्य संस्थापकस्य कीर्तिशेषस्य महाराजस्य श्रीबलवन्तसिंहमहोदयस्य जन्मस्थानमस्ति । अयं महाविद्यालयः गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालयस्य कलासंकाये स्नातककक्षानां शिक्षां प्रदाति ।

(४) राजा मनसाराम विधिविद्यालयः, राजा तालाब—एष महाविद्यालयः २०३१ वैक्रमाब्दे कार्तिके शुक्ले अक्षयनवम्यां (२३ नवम्बर १९७४) दिने उद्घाटितः । महाविद्यालयस्योद्घाटनं कुर्वद्भिस्तत्रभवद्भिः काशिनरेशः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयैः विधिविद्याया अध्ययनस्य महत्त्वं प्रदर्शितं छात्रा अध्यापकाश्च समर्पणभावेनाध्ययनाध्यापनायोपदिष्टाश्च । अस्मिन् विद्यालये संप्रति ३५ छात्राः विधिशास्त्रे शिक्षां प्राप्नुवन्ति ।

'Hindutva' Magazine

The monthly Magazine Hindutva is published in English under the auspices of the Visva Hindu Dharma Sammelan. The objects of this publication is to disseminate Hinduism and Hindu-culture. The Dharma-karya Nidhi gives an annual aid of Rs. 4000/- towards the publication of the Magazine.

The Bombay Session of the Vishva Hindu Dharma Sammelan.

The third Session of the Vishva Hindu Dharma Sammelan was held in Bombay from Dec. 28, 1974 to January 1, 1975. The Session was presided by His Highness Kashi-naresh Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh and was inaugurated by the Ex Prime Minister of Burma, Dr. U Nu. Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh in his presidential speech spoke highly of the spirit of toleration in Hinduism.

About 500 delegates, both Indians and foreigners, attended this Session.

Felicitations of Kashinaresh H.H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh in Calcutta.

A public reception was accorded to H. H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, Chairman, All-India Kashiraj Trust in Calcutta, the abode of Śakti, on July 14, 1974 in the Marble Palace of Shri Rajendra Mullik. The function was arranged by the Hanuman Temple Trust and was presided over by Hon.ble Justice Sankar Prasad Mitra, Chief Justice, West Bengal High Court. On the occasion of this reception the National Professor Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, Pt. Vishwanath Prasad Mishra, Pt. Giridhari Lal Mehta and others were present. It is to be noted that here in Calcutta a public reception was accorded to late H.H. Maharaja Dr. Sir Prabhu Narain Singh Bahadur, the grandfather of present Maharaja under the Chairmanship of Late Sir Ashutosh Mukerji and also to His late Highness Maharaja Dr. Aditya Narain Singh, the father of present Maharaja. The present felicitation was thus in the third generation. On this occasion an Abhinandanapatra in Hindi was presented to His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh. His Highness praised the noble qualities of Bengal and expressed his gratitude to the organisers of the reception.

‘हिन्दुत्व’ पत्रिका—विश्वहिन्दूधर्मसम्मेलनस्य आज्ञलभाषानिवद्धा ‘हिन्दुत्व’ पत्रिका प्रतिमासं प्रकाशिता भवति । पत्रिकाया उद्देश्यं हिन्दुधर्मस्य संस्कृतेश्च प्रसारोऽस्ति । अनेन न्यासेन अस्याः पत्रिकायाः प्रकाशने सहायार्थं ४०००) रुप्यकाणां वार्षिकी सहायता दीयते ।

विश्वहिन्दूधर्मसम्मेलनस्य मुम्बई नगरे अधिवेशनम्—विश्व हिन्दू धर्मसम्मेलनस्य तृतीयमधिवेशनं १९७४ वर्षस्य दिसम्बर मासस्य २८ दिनांक-माराभ्य १९७५ वर्षस्य जनवरी मासस्य १ दिनाङ्कं यावत् वम्बई नगरे संपन्नम् । काशिनरेशैः डा० विभूति नारायण सिंह महोदयैः सम्मेलनस्य अध्यक्षता कृता । सम्मेलनस्योद्घाटनं वर्मादेशस्य पूर्व्वेण प्रधानमन्त्रिणा डा० ऊ नू महोदयेन कृतम् । काशिनरेशैः डा० विभूति नारायण सिंह महोदयैः स्वीये अध्यक्षीये भाषणे हिन्दूधर्मस्य सहिष्णुत्वभावनायाः प्रशंसा कृता । अस्मिन् अधिवेशने देशीया वैदेशिकाश्च ५०० प्रतिनिधयः सम्मिलिता आसन् ।

काशिनरेशानां डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयानां कलकत्तानगरे अभिनन्दनम्

१४ जुलाई १९७४ दिनांके शक्तिपीठे कलकत्तानगरे तत्रभवतां काशिनरेशानां डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयानां हनुमानमन्दिरन्यासस्य तत्त्वावधाने श्रीराजेन्द्रमालिकमहोदयस्य ‘माबल पैलस’ नाम्नि प्रसिद्धे स्थाने सार्वजनिकमभिनन्दनं कृतम् । अभिनन्दनसमारोहस्य अध्यक्षता कलकत्ता उच्चन्यायालयस्य प्रधानेन न्यायाधीशेन श्री शंकर प्रसाद मित्र महोदयेन कृता । अभिनन्दनावसरे राष्ट्रीयप्राध्यापकः डा० सुनितिकुमार-चटर्जिमहोदयः, डा० हजारीप्रसादद्विवेदिमहोदयः, डा० विश्वनाथप्रसाद-मिश्रमहोदयः, पं० गिरधारीलालमेहतामहोदयः अन्ये च विशिष्टा विद्वांसः नागरिकाश्च उपस्थिता आसन् । अस्मिन्नवसरे महाराज डा० विभूति नारायणसिंहमहोदयेभ्य अभिनन्दनपत्रमपि प्रदत्तम् । इदं ज्ञातव्यं यदस्मिन्नेव नगरे काशिनरेशस्य पितामहानां महाराजा सर प्रभुनारायणसिंह-महोदयानामभिनन्दनं पूर्वकाले डा० आशुतोषमुखर्जिमहाभागानामध्यक्षतायां संपन्नमासीत् पुनश्च पितृपादानां डा० आदित्यनारायणसिंहमहोदयानामपि अभिनन्दनम् अस्मिन् नगरे संवृत्तमासीत् । इदं तु तृतीयमभिनन्दनमासीत् । महाराजैः डा० विभूति नारायण सिंह महोदयैः वङ्गभूमेर्महद्गुणानां प्रशस्ति विधाय आयोजकेभ्यः कृतज्ञता ज्ञापिता ।

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Vaiṣṇavism in the Nārada Purāṇa

According to the Nārada Purāṇa, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are only three manifestations of the Supreme God, Mahāviṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa. These three manifestations perform the respective functions of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe.¹ Known as Janārdana, Hari and so on, he is called Sarvadeveśvara (God of all gods), Nādarūpa (whose form is sound), Praṇava (mystic syllable Om), Śabdabrahma (Verbum), Ādideva (first God) and Cidrūpa (whose form is Cid, the universal spirit as identified with pure thought)². He is Veda (sacred knowledge), Akṣara (imperishable), Ananta (endless), Viśveśvara (Lord of the universe) and Pālaka (saviour) and there is nothing beyond him.³ He occupies the lotus of the heart of every creature. The great sages call him Mānasa (spiritual).⁴ The position of Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa) amongst the deities of the Nārada Purāṇa is best realised from his relation to the other gods, viz., Śiva and Brahmā. We find Viṣṇu with Śiva and Brahmā in the hermitage of Gautama.⁵ Viṣṇu offers his residence Kāśī to Śiva, to absolve the latter of the sin of Brahmahatyā.⁶ Bhagīratha was advised by Viṣṇu himself to propitiate Śiva, who was his (Viṣṇu's) alter ego, to free his ancestors from their sins.⁷ The stories of Mārkaṇḍeya, Bali, etc., bring out fully his benevolence and kindness towards his devotees.

Incarnations of Viṣṇu

According to Söderblom. "The term 'incarnation' is applied to the act of a divine or supernatural being is assuming the form of a man or animal, and continuing to live in that form upon the earth".⁸ Though traced to the Ṛgveda⁹ the idea of incarnation

1. N, I. 3.3-5; 31. 62-71; Cf. 'Trinity', infra, pp. 126 ff.

2. N, I. 11.30; 63.7; 33.154; 150; 1.2.

3. N, I. 25.64; 31.62; 1.78; 33.8; 6.57; 13.153-154.

4. N, I. 34-64; 42-13.

5. N, I. 79.

6. N, II. 29.4 ff.

7. N, I. 16. 70-74.

8. ERE, VII. p. 183.

9. RV, I. 55. 4; I.9.4, etc., AEV, p. 124.

took some time to develop into a full-fledged form. The sources of various incarnations of Viṣṇu can be traced in the mythical feats of Viṣṇu: the legends regarding Prajāpati in the earlier literature and the feats of heroes originally unconnected with Viṣṇu¹. The dwarf incarnation is a legend developed from a mythical feat of Viṣṇu of Ṛgvedic origin viz., the three strides with which he measured the three worlds.² In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka the Tortoise and the Boar incarnations were attributed to Prajāpati. Similarly, the Fish incarnation originated from the story of Manu, who was saved from deluge by a huge fish. According to the later version of the story in the Mahābhārata, Brahmā Prajāpati takes the form of the fish. When Viṣṇu replaced Prajāpati, the creator in the period of the Brāhmaṇas, he was credited not only with the deeds of Prajāpati but with his incarnations as Tortoise, Boar and Fish as well.³ Paraśurāma, Rāma (Dāśarathi) and Kṛṣṇa evidently came to be regarded as incarnations, when their identification with Viṣṇu became an established fact.⁴ The fully developed doctrine of incarnation is mentioned clearly in the Bhagavad Gītā. The epics and the Purāṇas have different versions regarding the incarnations. For, the Mahābhārata enumerates the following incarnations, viz., Haṁsa, Tortoise, Fish, Boar, Dwarf, (Paraśu) Rāma, Rāma Dāśarathi, Sātvata (Kṛṣṇa) and Kalkī. Elsewhere, the same work (Mbh) speaks of the thousands of incarnations (Prādurbhāvas). According to the Harivaṁśa, the incarnations are Boar, Man-lion, Dwarf, Dattātreya, Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma), Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Kalkī, which as stated in the text, is called the tenth.⁵ The later works like the Vāyu, the Matsya and the Bhāgavata mention several incarnations. This shows that the theory of incarnations

1. ERE, VII. pp. 193-194.

2. RV, I.154.1; I.155.4; VII. 100.3; AEV, p. 60.

3. Tt. S, VI. 2.42; S. Br. VII. 5. 1.5; Ś. Br, XIV. 1.2.11; Tt. Ār, I 13; Mbh (C), Vana, 187. 12474 ff—Mbh, III. 185-48; ERE, VII. pp.193-194.

4. ETSI, p. 90.

5. Bh. G, IV. 7; Mbh (C), Śānti, cccxxxix. 103-12966 f.—Interpolation ref. Mbh, after XII. 326. 97; ERE VII. pp. 183, 193.

was still in the fluid stage. The list of incarnations in the Vāyu Purāṇa does not include the three well-known incarnations, viz., the Boar, the Fish and the Tortoise, which are named in the other Purāṇas and in the Mahābhārata.¹ According to the Vāyu Purāṇa, the ten incarnations are: Nārāyaṇa, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, Dattātreya, Māṇdhātā, Jāmadagnya, Rāma, Vedavyāsa, Kṛṣṇa and Kalkī, the first three being divine and the rest human.² These ten incarnations are enumerated in the Matsya Purāṇa with the difference that it has Buddha for Kṛṣṇa of the Vāyu Purāṇa.³ The Agni Purāṇa⁴ gives a list of the ten incarnations as : Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṃha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Śrī Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalkī. In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa⁵, we find a list of 22 incarnations. In the Nārada Purāṇa, in connection with the Daśavatārākhyā vrata, Nārada enumerates the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, viz., Matsya (Fish), Kūrma (Tortoise), Varāha (Boar), Narasiṃha (Man-lion), Trivikrama, (Bhārgava) Rāma, (Dāśarathi) Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha and Kalkī.⁶ Nārada's praise of Viṣṇu contains a list of eight incarnations, Tortoise, Boar, Man-lion, Vāmana (Dwarf), Jāmadagnya, (Dāśarathi) Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma.⁷

In another context, Rāma mentions his own incarnation along with his three brothers in Daśaratha's three wives as a four-fold Vyūha.⁸ Further it is stated that Hari (Viṣṇu) requested by Brahmā would take incarnation as Vāsudeva, son of Vasudeva, to relieve the burden of the earth.⁹

It may thus be concluded that Nārada was aware of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. Again, elsewhere Viṣṇu is called Sāṅkhya-

1. CHVP, p. 190.
2. Vā, 98. 70 ff; 1. 48-50; 98.88; CHVP, p. 65.
3. M, 47. 237 ff; CHVP, pp. 165, 172.
4. Ag, 2.1-17, etc.; Ag-A study, p. 4.
5. Bh, I. 3. 1. ff; ERE, VII. p. 193.
6. N, I. 119. 14-19.
7. N, I.2.37-43. In the previous verse (N, I.2.42), Rāma's four-fold incarnation with his three brothers is mentioned. Similarly, "Mūrtidvayaṁ" (N, 1.2.43) means Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma.
8. N, I. 79.7.
9. N, II. 81.29-30.

yogeśvara (Lord of Sāṅkhya-Yoga), Vedakartā (author of Veda), Kapila, etc.¹ These names of Viṣṇu appear to have been popular during the period of the Nārada Purāṇa.

Among the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, Nārada gives detailed accounts only of three incarnations, viz., Nṛsimha, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. An account of these three incarnations may be given as under:

Nṛsimha

The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* accepts Nṛsimha as one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu and also alludes to a legend in this connection.² The *Nṛsimha-tāpanīya* Upaniṣads clearly show some Nṛsimha sub-sects which worshipped the Nṛsimha incarnation of Viṣṇu adopting Tāntrik practices and the sectarian mantras. The *Harivamśa* and the Purāṇas like *Vāyu*, *Matsya* and *Agni* give similar information.³ Coomarswamy and others regard that the worship of Nṛsimha sub-sect, worshipping the Nṛsimha incarnation through Tāntrik practices and sectarian mantras, became popular in a period later than the 7th Century A. D.⁴

Nārada describes Nṛsimha (Nara-Hari) in various forms. While enumerating the mode of worship of Nṛhari he mentions different kinds of mantras, diagrams and other Tāntrik practices.⁵

Rāma

The *Rāmāyaṇa* narrates the story of Rāma. Originally Rāma is described as a Kṣatriya here, but later, he has been considered as the eternal God. The 7th book of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is considered as a later portion and it is based on the idea of divinity of Rāma. The Rāma cult existed during the further developed post Rāmāyaṇa period. This is evident in the *Rāma-Pūrva Uttara Tāpanīya* Upaniṣads, the *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Agastya-Sutikṣṇa Samvāda*, one of the Vaiṣṇava Samhitās.⁶

1. N, I. 62. 50-65.

2. Tt. Ā, X. 1.6; ERE, VII. p. 194.

3. ORLI, pp. 188-189; Cf. Incarnations of Viṣṇu, *supra*, pp 121 ff.

4. ETSI, p. 148.

5. N, I. 71.

6. ORLI, pp. 189-190.

The *Mahābhārata* and other works like the *Harivaṃśa* recognise Rāma as an incarnation of Viṣṇu¹. Rāma was recognised as an incarnation, in all probability, in the early centuries of the Christian era². The *Vāyu* the *Matsya* and the other Purāṇas mention Rāma as one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. Further, the story of Rāma is narrated in the *Agni*, *Bhāgavata*, *Garuḍa*, *Skanda*, *Brahma* and *Brahmavaivarta* Purāṇas.³ Though Nārada does not give much importance to Rāma, he considers Rāma and his three brothers, viz., Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna, to be a four-fold incarnation of Viṣṇu.⁴ The worship of Rāma with Sītā, his brothers, and Hanumān, performed by chanting the various mantras, is described elsewhere in this work.⁵

Further Rāma's story also is narrated in the Nārada Purāṇa.

Kṛṣṇa

The *R̥gveda* refers to one Kṛṣṇa whom the Anukramaṇī styles as Kṛṣṇa Āṅgīrasa. He is referred to also in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*. The *Aitareya Aranyaka* mentions Kṛṣṇa Hārīta, a teacher. The reference to Kṛṣṇa in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* indicates the 6th or the 7th century B. C. to be the lower limit of his date. In the Vedic period he is Vedic seer, obviously a human personality. The Kṣatriya hero had already risen to the rank of a god in Pāṇini's time. The testimony of Megasthenes indicates that Kṛṣṇa-Bāsudeva had been deified by the 4th Century B. C. among the people of Mathurā and he was connected with the Pāṇḍavas. The *Mahābhārata* considered him as the Supreme Being and as the Supreme God.⁶ However, between the period of the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the *Anugītā* the identity of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa was fully established⁷. The *Harivaṃśa* abounds in stories about Kṛṣṇa's

1. Cf. Incarnations of Viṣṇu, supra. pp. 121 ff.
2. VŚ, p. 66.
3. Cf. Incarnations of Viṣṇu and Stories, Supra, pp. 121 ff. & 11 ff. See also Raghawan, The Greater Rāmāyaṇa, All-India Kasi Raj Trust.
4. N, I. 79.6-7.
5. N, I. 73.
6. RV, VIII.85.3.4; Kau. Br, XXX.9; A. Ār, III.2.6; CU, III, 17.6; SEP, p. 51.
7. VŚ, pp. 48-49.

pranks as a cowherd. These stories also appear in the Purāṇas like the *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata*, *Brahma* and *Brahmavaivarta* though not in an identical form. Other Purāṇas which deal with this story are the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Agni* and *Garuḍa*.¹

Nārada narrates the story of Kṛṣṇa's boyhood and that of his youth briefly. But it is in the form of an event of the future period. There it is definitely mentioned that Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Lord Kṛṣṇa also figures along with Rādhā as Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa residing in Goloka (world of cows) keeping gopas (cowherds) and gopīs (cowherd-women) in happiness.² Nārada identifies Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa with the Supreme God and considers him to be the main source of the Trinity.³ Thus the *Nārada Purāṇa* shows that the elevation of the cowherd Kṛṣṇa to the status of the Supreme God has been fully accepted by the time of the Nārada Purāṇa.

Trinity

'Trinity' is the supreme spirit manifested in three forms—Trimūrti. The *R̥gveda* contains the germ of its origin, for, it sees Agni (fire-god) in three forms viz., the Sun in the celestial region, lightning in the aerial waters and fire on the earth.⁴ The Vedic literature describes the three-fold character of the sacrificial fire.⁵ In the *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad*, Brahmā, Rudra and Viṣṇu appear as forms (tanavaḥ) of the absolute (which itself is incorporeal) corresponding respectively to the Rajas, Tamas and Sattva aspects of the Absolute. It appears definitely in the statement of the *Mahābhārata*: in the form of Brahmā he creates; his human form (i. e., Viṣṇu) preserves; in his form as Rudra will he destroy; these are the three states of Prajāpati.⁶ Such a conception of the Trinity is seen in the *Harivaṃśa*, the *Vāyu Purāṇa*⁷ and the works of Kālidāsa like the

1. ORLI, p. 100; SEP, p. 61.
2. N, II. 81.
3. N, I. 83.12-29.
4. ERE, XII. p. 457.
5. VM, p. 93.
6. MS, IV.12.2; MU, IV.5.6; V.2; Mbh (C), Vane, CCL-XXII.46 Interpolation, ref. Mbh. III, Appendix I. pp. 1085-1086; No. 27, lines, 35-36. ERE, XII. p. 457.
7. Kum, II.4; Vā, 5.38-42, etc; CHVP, pp. 66, 191.

Kumāra Sambhava. Nārada states that Nārāyaṇa-Mahāviṣṇu, for the purpose of creation, destruction and preservation of the world, created Brahmā (Prajāpati) from the right side of his body, Rudra from the middle and Viṣṇu from the left, possessing the respective guṇas (attributes) of Rajas, Tamas and Sattva.¹ Again, in another context, Kṛṣṇa is also described as the Supreme God and as the main source of the Trinity. There it is stated that Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa) took birth from the left side of the body of Kṛṣṇa and Mahālakṣmī from that of Rādhā. Then Kṛṣṇa gave Mahālakṣmī in marriage to Viṣṇu and installed him in Vaikuṇṭha for the protection of the world. The four-faced Brahmā with his wife Sāvitrī was born from Kṛṣṇa's navel, and Kṛṣṇa allotted to him the function of creation and sent him to Satyaloka. Further, Kṛṣṇa divided himself into two : Kṛṣṇa from the right half and Śiva (Mahādeva) from the left. Durgā, who was born out of the body of Kṛṣṇa, was given in marriage to Śiva. Śiva was engaged in the function of destruction of the world.²

Thus, Nārada's conception of the Trinity is similar to that described in the *Mahābhārata*, though fuller.

Hanumān

Hanumān as a God, especially as a devoted messenger of Lord Rāma, is worshipped by all to-day.

Jacobi sees him even in the Vedic period as one of the gods related to agriculture on the basis of a reference in the *R̥gveda*.³ 'Hanumān' is also taken by some scholars as a different form of the Tamil term 'Āṇa-mandi' meaning 'Nara-Kapi' (man-ape).⁴

However, Hanumān's popularity is found from the *Rāmāyaṇa* period onwards. In some late Purāṇas he is considered even as an incarnation of god. For example, the *Devībhāgavata*, *Bṛhad-dharma Purāṇa* and other works describe him as an incarnation of Lord Śiva. The *Skanda Purāṇa* and *Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa* consider him as *Rudrāṁśa* (partial manifestation of Lord Rudra). The different stories of Lord Rāma believe him as an *aṁśavatāra* (partial incar-

1. N, I. 3.3-5; 31.62-71.

2. N, I. 83.12-29.

3. RV, VI. 17.2; RK, p. 105.

4. RK, pp. 106-107.

nation) of Viṣṇu.¹ Nārada not only prescribes Hanumān's worship, even in Tāntrik style, but enumerates several mantras of his, the system of lighting lamps before him and preparation of *Kavaca* and *Tantras* used for different purposes.² According to Nārada, Hanumān is 'Añjanīgarbha-sambhūts' (son of Añjanī), 'Māruti' (son of the Wind-God), 'Kapīśvara' (master of monkeys), 'Śrī Rāmāṅghridhyānaniṣṭha' (meditating upon Lord Rāma's feet), 'Udyatkoṭyarka saṅkāśa' (as bright as a crore of the rising Suns)³. 'Rāmadūta' (messenger of Lord Rāma), 'Sītāśokavināśana' (remover of Sītā's sorrows). 'Laṅkāprāsādabhañjana' (destroyer of buildings in Laṅkā).⁴ 'Sarvavighnavināśaka' (destroyer of all obstacles⁵), 'Taptacāmīkaranibha' (as bright as melted gold), 'Padmākṣa' (lotus-eyed), 'Calatkuṇḍaladīptāsyā' (whose face is bright with the moving ear-rings).⁶ 'Kālāntakayamopama' (like the destroyer Yama) and Rudrarūpī (of dreadful form or of the form of Śiva).⁷ Elsewhere, he is characterised as Hari, the monkey, who is keeping his left hand on his knee, having jñānamudrā on his hṛd (heart) and mind on Adhyātma, imparting knowledge to others and seated in Kadalīvan (forest of plantains).⁸ Again, he is described as big as Mh Meru and seated under the Pārijāta tree and having red eyes.⁹ In the explanation of the *Mārutikavaca*, he is addressed as 'Kesarīpriyanandana' (Kesari's beloved son). 'Vāyunandana' (son of the Wind-God). 'Añjanīsūnu' (son of Añjanī). 'Tryambakasambhava' (born of Lord Śiva), etc.¹⁰ He is described also as 'Dīrghalāṅgūladhārī' (having long tail) and 'Kaupīnavāsa' (wearing a loin-cloth).¹¹

1. D.Bh, Ch. 37; Bd. P, Ch. 18; SK, Avantī, Ch. 79; Revākhaṇḍa, Ch. 84; Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa, I. 11; RK. pp. 425-426.
2. N, I. Chs. 74, 75, 78.
3. N, I. 74. 9-10, etc.
4. N, I. 74. 102.
5. N, I. 74. 14.
6. N, I. 74. 110.
7. N, I. 74. 123-124.
8. N, I. 75. 94-96.
9. N, I. 75. 102.
10. N, I. 78. 9, 10, 12, 20.
11. N, I. 78. 37, 45.

Nārada narrates also a story of Hanumān's birth.¹ A similar story appears in the *Padma Purāṇa*.² But the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other works give his story in other forms. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, an Apsarā named Puṇjikasthalā, due to a curse, was transformed into a monkey as daughter of Kuñjara with the name Añjanā and married to Kesarī, and she got Hanumān as her son from Vāyu, the Wind God.³ The *Śiva Purāṇa* mentions that Lord Śiva had a fall of his semen when he saw Viṣṇu in the form of Mohinī, the Saptarṣis (seven sages) took the same and kept it in the ears of Añjanā from whom Hanumān was born.⁴ According to the *Ananda Rāmāyaṇa*, Hanumān is an *Amśavatāra* of Viṣṇu. It is said that when Daśaratha performed 'Putrakāmeṣṭi', a portion of Pāyasa (porridge) was taken by an eagle from Kaikeyī's hand and it was deposited on the hands of Añjanā, who was performing penance. By eating that Pāyasa, Añjanā became pregnant and delivered Hanumān.⁵

According to another version, Hanumān is the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. Once Śiva and Pārvatī played in the monkey-form and Pārvatī conceived. Afraid of delivering a monkey child, she requested the Wind-God to help. The Wind-God took the embryo out and handed it over to Añjanā who then gave birth to Hanumān.⁶ Hanumān is described also as the son of Lord Rāma and Sītā in the Greater Indian versions like the *Seri Rām*. It is said there that Rāma and Sītā, while moving in the forest, had a chance to take bath in a tank and immediately they were turned into monkeys. At that time, Sītā was pregnant. Then Lakṣmaṇa brought them to their real forms by bathing them in another tank. Under instructions from Rāma, Vāyu took the embryo from Sītā and put it in to Añjanā. Afterwards, Hanumān took birth from her.⁷

Here Nārada not only narrates the story of Hanumān but he characterises him as an important deity. From the mention

1. Cf. the story of Hanumān.
2. P, Pātālakhaṇḍa, Ch, 114.
3. Rām, Uttara, 4,66, 7,35 ; Bala, 17 ; RK, pp. 424-425.
4. Śiva, *Śatarudrasaṁhitā*, Ch, 20; RK, p. 426; PCK, p. 647.
5. *Anand Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 1, 13.
6. RK, p. 426.
7. RK, pp. 428-429.

of mantras, yantra, kavaca, etc. for Hanumān it appears that during the period of the *Nāradiya*, worship of Hanumān on Tāntrik lines had become popular.

To Nārada, Viṣṇu was the greatest of all gods. Throughout the Purāṇa it can be seen that Viṣṇu worship is given the pride of place, though other practices like Śāktism, Tāntrism, etc., are casually dealt with. Nārada's devotion to Vaiṣṇavism is so great that he has made Rādhā the chief presiding deity for Tāntrik practices, as well as the source of the Trinity. Another speciality, which marks out his partiality for Vaiṣṇavism, is the extensive treatment given to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, even prescribing a hymn of 1000 names, the 'Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-yugala-sahasranāma' and also vratas like Ekādaśī. But all the same, for some inexplicable reason, Nārada makes only passing references to the Avatars other than Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Nṛsiṃha. Again, Nārada is perhaps the first to mention Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Nṛsiṃha, etc., in connection with Tāntrik practices. It is possible the great emphasis laid on Vaiṣṇavism by Nārada led to the later growth of Vaiṣṇava sects.

ii. Śaivism

Pre-Vedic Age

One of the seals unearthed from the Indus Valley is that of a male deity seated in a cross-legged posture. This deity is three-faced, wearing a horned head-dress, and seated on a throne surrounded by an elephant, a tiger, a buffalo and a rhinoceros and with a deer under the seat. This seal is taken as representing Śiva in his three aspects viz., Paśupati (Lord of animals), Yogiśvara or Mahāyogī and Trimukha (three-faced). Two other seals, unearthed during further excavations, suggest that the deity is a god of vegetation or fertility, for they show a sprig of flowers or leaves rising from the head of the deity. From the large number of conical and cylindrical stones unearthed, it is inferred that phallus worship was prevalent among the people of the Indus Valley. But the question of phallus-worship in the Indus Valley is not yet definitely settled. Śiva appears to be one of the principal deities of the Indus people.¹ The worship of Śiva is regarded as the oldest form of Indian theistic religion.²

1. VA, pp. 186-187; Plates, VII. 4, 5, 6 & 7; Excavations at Harappa, by M. S. Vats, pp. 368-371,

2. Chi (2nd edition), IV. p. 32.

Vedic Age

In the destructive and dreadful phenomena of external nature like storms, epidemics, etc., the ancient Āryans saw Rudra, the malevolent being who is described as a terrible beast and also as a bull and ruddy boar of the Heaven.¹ Rudra is described as the best of all physicians.² He occupies a subordinate position in the Ṛgveda and is celebrated in only three entire hymns. His name occurs about 75 times in the Ṛgveda.³ In the Yajus, a whole section of hymns are to be seen in the section called Śatarudriya which is held as the most sacred text on Rudra Śiva.⁴ In the Atharvaveda, the conception of Rudra undergoes a change, and he is elevated to a higher level.⁵ In the Brāhmaṇas, his power reached its highest and he became one of the two great gods.⁶ Most of epithets applied to Śiva in the Purāṇas and the Epics, are found in the later Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas.⁷ In the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad Śiva alone figures as the Supreme God.⁸ The worship of Śiva is referred to by Megasthenes, the Greek envoy (300 B. C.), and his reference is the earliest historical record.⁹ From the period of Patañjali downwards, we find evidence regarding the existence of some Śaiva sects.¹⁰

In the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Śiva is characterised as the Supreme God and as the creator, supporter and destroyer of the world.¹¹ The Purāṇas like the *Vāyu*, *Kūrma*, *Līṅga* and *Śiva* are dedicated to Śiva.¹² Authors like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti invoke Śiva's blessing in the beginning of their works. "The many temples of Śiva constructed by the early Cālukyas and the

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1. RV, II. 33.9; X 126.5; II.3.11, etc. VM, p. 75.
 2. RV, II. 33.4; ETSI, p. 7.
 3. VM, p. 74.
 4. KYV. IV. 5.
 5. AV. IV. 28; VII. 87. etc.
 6. CHW, p. 177.
 7. ETSI, pp. 20-21.
 8. VŚ, pp. 151-152.
 9. AIU, p. 456.
 10. VŚ, p. 165.
 11. Vā, 55.37ff; 3.1; 1.205; CHVP, p. 55.
 12. SEP, p. XLIX; CA, p. 427.

Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the Kailāsa and other cave temples at Ellora excavated by the latter, contain no indication of their being intended for a specific Śaiva sect, and therefore they may be regarded as pointing to the diffusion of the general worship of Śiva in Maharashtra from the seventh to the tenth century. Thus,¹ it is evident that the worship of Śiva was widely prevalent, though not necessarily as a specific sect.

Śaivism in the Nārada Purāṇa

In the *Nārada Purāṇa*, Śiva (Śambhu) is described as a prominent god, though when compared to Viṣṇu, he holds a lower rank. In the words of Viṣṇu, Śiva is his alter ego and one without beginning and end. He is very kind to his devotees. The Moon, who is his devotee, is accepted by him as his own. Besides, he fulfils the desires of all.² In the hermitage of sage Gautama, when Pārvatī criticises Śiva, Viṣṇu becomes furious and attempts to cut off her head, for, the humiliation of Śiva is sure to bring ruin. But Śiva checks Viṣṇu and controls him.³ This shows the great regard that Viṣṇu had for Śiva. In the praise of Śiva by Bhagīratha, Śiva figures as a diety responsible for creation, preservation and destruction of the world. Further, he is eulogised by many epithets, the important ones among them being : 'Virūpākṣa' (diverse eyed), 'Nīlagrīva' (blue-necked), 'Paśūnām pati' (Lord of animals or beings), 'Bhūtānām pati' (Lord of beings), 'Pañcāsyadeva' (five-faced God), 'Gaṇānām pati' (leader of a class or group), 'Umākānta' (husband of Umā), 'Nandikeśa' (master of Nandika), 'Daśabhuja' (ten-armed), 'Trilocana' (three-eyed), 'Īśvareśvara' (God of gods), 'Śiva' (auspicious), 'Sarvabhūta' (joined with all things), 'Kapardī' (of matted hair), etc. He is characterised as the holder of Pināka (bow known as Pināka), Śula (trident), Kapāla (skull), Pāśa (noose), Mudgara (hammer or club) Ghaṇṭā (bell) and also Nāgayajñopavīta (a serpent as a sacred thread) and Gajacarma (skin of elephant) etc.⁴

Liṅga

The phallus-worshippers are referred to twice with disapproval in the *Rgveda*⁵. Phallus worship is considered by some to have

1. VŚ, p. 169.
2. N, I. 16. 71-74.
3. N, I. 79.217-226.
4. N, I. 16. 78-103.
5. RV. VII. 21.5; X. 99, 3 ETSI, p. 9.

been prevalent among the people of the Indus Valley.¹ The term 'Linga', however, appears first in the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, and is directly affiliated to Lord Śiva². The *Mahābhārata* mentions the worship of Śivaliṅga. Again, in the same epic there is a description regarding the origin of Liṅga by Kṛṣṇa³.

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* has devoted a full chapter to describe the origin of Liṅga, but there is no indication of it as an object of worship.⁴ The *Agni Purāṇa* mentions that "Hara can be worshipped everywhere, his full and complete worship in its entirety being possible in a *Liṅga* only". The installation of Liṅga also is described there.⁵ There are references to the Liṅga worship in the *Matsya Purāṇa*⁶. The *Kūrma Purāṇa* also has two myths regarding the origin of liṅga and its worship⁷. Nārada has described the greatness of Śivaliṅga and its worship⁸. Various tīrthas ascribed to Śiva are also named in this *Purāṇa*⁹.

While describing the greatness of Puṇḍarikapura, Nārada gives an illustration of the splendour of Śiva. There is also a description of Tāṇḍava (dance), performed by Śiva with Umā, Vināyaka, Skanda and other associates like Pramathas, Nandī and Bhṛṅgi, in front of sage Jaimini.¹⁰ Thus, the material available in the *Nārada Purāṇa* shows that Lord Śiva also was regarded as an important deity, and the worship of Śivaliṅga too was prevalent during the period of this *Purāṇa*.

Among the members of Śiva's family, only Lord Gaṇeśa is dealt with in detail. An account of description of Gaṇeśa may be given as under :

1. Śeivism, supra. p. 211ff.
2. VŚ, p. 163; CHVP, P. 185.
3. Mbh (B), Bhīṣma, Chs, 38-40, Mbh, VI 36-38; VŚ, p. 160; Mbh, X. 17. 9-26; ETSI, pp. 82-84.
4. Vā, 55; CHVP, pp. 62, 186.
5. Ag, 54, 54.7; 92.96, etc., Ag, A Study, p. 211.
6. M, 55.4; 185-57, etc., CHMP, p. 191.
7. K, I. 26. 66-99; II. 38-39
8. N, I. 79.
9. N, II. 74, etc.
10. N, II. 73.

Gaṇeśa

The word 'Gaṇapati' is used as an attribute of Brahmaṇaspati, and also as the name of Indra in the Ṛgveda¹. The Paśus are said to be the Gāṇapatya of Rudra in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*². In the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, we have both singular and plural forms of Gāṇapatya.³ The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* mentions a God Dantī along with Kārtikeya and Nandī⁴. The *Manava Gṛhya Sūtra* mentions four Vināyakas, viz., Śalakaṭaṅkaṭa, Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra, Usmita and Devayajana as evil spirits, who have the nature of disturbing people. The *Baijavāpa Gṛhya* also enumerates four Vināyakas, viz., Mita, Sammita, Śalakaṭaṅkaṭa and Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra, and refers also to the seizure by them. The development of the Vināyaka cult is evidenced first in the two Gṛhya Sūtra works mentioned above. According to the *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, Vināyaka is made the Lord of Gaṇas by Lord Brahmā and Rudra. He is said to be the cause of all the obstacles and also the bestower of success in the deeds and rites under-taken by the people. Yājñavalkya adds that the four names of Vināyaka enumerated above are of Vināyaka, the son of Ambikā. The *Baudhāyanagṛhyasūtra* mentions Vināyaka as the Lord of bhūtas and also refers to him as Vināyaka, Hastimukha (elephant-faced) and Vighneśvara (Lord of obstacles).⁵ Vināyaka as a synonym of Gaṇeśa occurs in the *Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad*⁶ where Rudra is identified with him. The *Mahābhārata* gives a description of Vināyaka similar to that given in the *Manava Gṛhya*. Kālidāsa does not refer to Gaṇeśa or to his worship. *Gobhila Smṛti* prescribes the worship of Gaṇādhipa at the beginning of all rites. The *Gāthā Saptasatī* and the *Harṣacarita* refer to Vināyaka.⁷

1. RV, II. 23.1; X. 112.9; HD, II.1 p. 213.

2. Tt. S, IV. 1.2.2; HD, II. 1. p. 213.

3. Vj. S, 16.25, 22.30; MD, II. 1. p. 213.

4. CHVP, p. 187.

5. MV. Gr. S, II. 14; Baij, Gr. q, by Aparārka, p. 563, on Yājñavalkya, I. 275. Yājñ, I. 271; I. 285; B. Gr. S, III. 10; HD, II. 1. pp. 214-215.

6. AIU. p. 469.

7. Mbh(B), Vana, 65.23 Interpolation, ref. Mbh, III. Appendix I. 12, p. 1057; Anu, 150.25=Interpolation, ref. Mbh, XIII. App. I. (No.18); Gobhile, 1.13; Gāthā, IV. 72; HC, Uchhvāsa, IV. Verse, 2 HD, II. 1. p. 215.

The God Gaṇapati, Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati-Vināyaka does not figure in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, though there is a story about a Gaṇeśa who was a follower of Śiva.¹ The *Matsya Purāṇa*² gives instructions as to the Method of making the images of Vināyaka, and also refers to a Vināyaka riding a mouse. The worship of Gaṇeśa and the ceremonial bath of Vināyaka are described in the *Agni Purāṇa*.³ The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* also refers to the worship of Gaṇeśa. The *Vāmana Purāṇa* narrates a story in connection with the birth of Vināyaka.⁴ The Gaṇeśa worship seems therefore to have been established before the 5th or the 6th Century A. D.

In the *Nārada Purāṇa*⁵ there is a description of Gaṇeśa worship with chanting of mantras, Gaṇeśa-Gāyatrī, etc. The epithets of Gaṇeśa mentioned in the *Purāṇa* are: 'Gaṇeśa' leader of gaṇas, i. e. group also 'Gaṇapati', 'Gaṇādhiśa', 'Gaṇanāyaka', 'Gaṇeśitā' 'Gajāśya' (elephant-faced), 'Vināyaka' (remover of obstacles), 'Vighneśa' (Lord of obstacles), 'Vakratuṇḍa' (curled trunk), 'Dantī' (one who has a tusk) and 'Mahāgaṇapati'. Mahāgaṇapati is described along with his Śaktis, as the rising Sun, cause of the existence and destruction of the universe, bearer of ornaments all over and holder of Danta (tusk), Cakra (wheel), etc. Vakratuṇḍa is elephant-faced, as bright as the rising Sun, clad in red garment, wearing red ornaments and holding Pāśa (noose) and Aṅkuśa (goad) and displaying Abhaya (protection) and Vara (boon). Gaṇeśvara is Dvijarūpa (of the form of a Brāhmaṇa). Elsewhere the worship of Vināyaka together with Lakṣmī is mentioned and Āmoda, Pramoda, etc., followed by their wives like Siddhi and Samṛddhi placed in the six corners.

The Pāśupata

The earliest of the Śaiva sects, Pāśupata is parallel to the Pāñcarātra of the Vaiṣṇavas.⁶ The first preceptor of this doctrine

1. CHVP, p. 187.
2. M, 260, 52-55, 289, 7; HD, II. 1. p. 215; CHMP, p. 189.
3. Ag, Chs. 71, 313; 266-272; HD, II. 1. p. 215; Ag-A study, p. 16.
4. Bhv, q, by Kṛtyaratnākara, p. 271; Vām, 54; HD, II. 1. p. 215.
5. N, I. 68.
6. ORLI, pp. 101-102.

is believed to be Śiva. Described as one of the five religious sects by the *Mahābhārata*, it is based on the fundamental conceptions of Sāṅkhya and Yoga like the Pañcarātra. The difference between the two is that while Viṣṇu has four forms, Śiva has eight.¹ Another sect of the Pāśupatas is known to have been initiated by Lakulīśa during the early centuries of the Christian era.²

Unlike other systems, the Pāśupata generally believes that the highest powers and eternal proximity to God are attainable, and that the Supreme and the individual souls are distinct entities. The liberated individual soul is devoid of all ignorance and weakness and attains boundless knowledge and power.³

A comparative study of the *Mahābhārata* version and the Lakulīśa practice of the sect shows the influence of Yogic ideas, Varṇāśramadharma and the Bhakti cult on the Lakulīśa sect, though it is considered to be of heterodox nature.⁴ The first reference to the Lakulīśa Pāśupata seems to have been made in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. The *Kūrma* and *Līṅga Purāṇas* also refer to it.⁵

The *Nārada Purāṇa* describes the Pāśupata system in detail, a summary of which is given below.⁶

The Pāśupata tantra (school) holds the three Padārthas (elements) and its teachings are in four Pādas (chapters). The Padārthas are Paśupati (Lord of animals), Paśu (animal) and Pāśa (fetter). Pati is the Lord Śiva, who is the preserver and destroyer of the universe and redeemer of all the living beings irrespective of karma (action). The Pādas are Bhoga (enjoyment), Mokṣa (salvation), the end of misery called Duhkhānta, Kriyā (effect) and Caryā (Vidhi, i.e., the rules to practice).⁷

1. Mbh, XII. 62; ORLI, p. 102; AIU, 453.

2. SC, pp 9, 57; AIU, p. 453 ff.

3. AIU, p. 454 ff; SC, p. 9; VS, p. 173 ff.

4. ETSI, pp. 68-69.

5. Vā, 23. 210-213; CHVP, pp. 183-184; K, 24. 127-131; IS, Introduction, p. 11; L, 24. 127-131; AIU, p. 454.

6. N, I. 63. 13-124.

7. The chapters are divided into five as Kārya, Karana, Yoga, Vidhi and Prayojana—"Duhkhāntasamjño yogaḥ" in Prasthānatraya, pp. 93-94; Cf. also PS. Introduction pp. 10-11; Cf. also AIU, p. 454.

The Paśus are divided into three classes, viz., Kala (indistinct), linked with mala (ignorance), Talapākala, joined with mala and karman, and Sakala (whole) plunged in mala, māyā (delusion) and karman. The Paśus, known as Kala and Talapākala, exist on a sound footing. But Sakala is on the move and takes birth in various yonis in accordance with its actions.

The five Pāśas are the products of mala, karman, māyā, tirodhānaśakti (power of disappearing) and bindu (drop) respectively.¹ The Pāśa, the product of mala, is so effective that even a single Pāśa is capable of eclipsing the śaktis (powers). The śaktis are: drkśakti (power of vision), Jñānaśakti (cognition), Kriyāśakti (administration), karmaśakti (power of action), which is of an intermittent flow and which is the provider of enjoyment, and binduśakti which helps a living being in attaining salvation.

Sat (existence), Cit (consciousness) and Ānanda (bliss) are the properties of Parama Ātman (Supreme Soul), the main source of the universe, which is the Śaiva Tejas (the intense fire pertaining to Śiva) known as Śakta, containing the Jñānaśakti and Kriyāśakti. It is independent and has a separate existence. It is not visible, but appears in mind. Bindu Pāśa, strengthened by Cit, attains the form of Jñānakriyāśakti known as Śiva. It is described as the cause of the tattvas (principles) like śakti-tattva (principle of power), Sadāśiva-tattva (principle of Sadāśiva), Īśvara-tattva (principle of Lord), Vidyā-tattva (principle of learning), Kāla-tattva (principle of time), and Sat-tattva (principle of existence). But actually, there is only one tattva known as Śivākhyā-tattva comprising various śaktis. Lord Śiva, described in various ways, is the only Almighty. He himself gives the power of enjoyment as well as mokṣa—Śivasāmānyarūpa, i. e., the attainment of Śiva's form. In other systems the final salvation is attainable only after the exhaustion of the effect of all karmas. But, according to Pāśupata, it can be attained in spite of the effect of karmas not being exhausted, karma being unending.

Śiva is the kartā (creator), his śaktis are the karaṇa (instrumental cause), and māyā the upādāna (the material cause) in

1. There are only four Pāśas, viz., Mala, Rodha, Karma and Māyā according to the modern Śaivadarśana Kalyāṇa, Saṅkṣipta Nārada-Viṣṇu Purāṇa Aṅka (Hindi) pp. 343-344.

the creation of the universe. Noticing the activities of the souls, Śiva with his śaktis gives provocation to māyā, and thereafter creates the bodies and senses through māyā for the enjoyment of the souls. Māyā, an embodiment of various śaktis, creates Kāla-tattva and Niyati (destiny), and keeps every thing under its control. Another kind of māyā, of an eternal nature, produces Kalā-tattva. This Kalā-tattva, with kāla and niyati, produces Vidyā-tattva, an instrument which removes the obscuration of Jñāna-śakti and shows the viśayas (objects) to the souls. Bhoga is the enjoyment of viśayas by souls through Buddhi (wisdom). The soul, capable of enjoying the viśayas by the help of Vidyā-tattva, is known as Puruṣa. Kalā produces rāga (desire) and through rāga, Puruṣa acquires the material for his enjoyment. Kalā, kāla, niyati, vidyā, rāga, prakṛti (nature) and guṇas (attributes)—these seven products of māyā create the five Jñānendriyas (organs of knowledge), karmendriyas (organs of action), ahaṁkāra (ego), bhūtas (the elements) and other material which together make the universe. Māyā Pāśa includes all these elements.

The group of sthāvara (immovable) and jaṅgama (movable) things is included in Tirodhānaśakti Pāśa.

One should snap one's bondage of the universe by having dīkṣā (initiation) in accordance with the directives of Śāstras, by following Varṇāśramadharma, etc.; he then attains mokṣa (final salvation).

The Pāśupata doctrine described by Nārada lays emphasis upon the observance of Varṇāśramadharma, the practice of Yoga and Bhakti, which is thus different from the system described in the *Mahābhārata*. It is almost the same as the Lakulīśa system described in the *Vāyu* and *Kūrma Purāṇas*. Nārada's treatment of Pāśupata differs from that of other *Purāṇas* in so far as he has given an elaborate and lucid exposition.

Though the *Nārada Purāṇa* is generally considered to be Vaiṣṇavaite in character and contents, it is surprising to note that Śaivism, especially Pāśupata, has been given a fuller treatment here than in the other so-called Śaiva *Purāṇas*. Among the Śaiva hierarchy of gods, only Gaṇeśa, has been placed at par with Viṣṇu. It may be seen that during the time of the *Nārada*, the other members of the Śaivaite pantheon were not considered important.

iii. Śāktism

Pre-Vedic Age

The cult of Śakti can be traced back to the worship of Mother-Goddess or nature-goddess of the pre-Vedic age. Some of the figurines unearthed from the Indus Valley represent a semi-nude female figure in a standing posture with a girdle or band round her loins and an elaborate head-dress and collar. These figurines are similar to those discovered from the village shrines of South India, and are regarded as representing the Mother goddess. In India every village is considered to be guarded by a Grāma Devatā, called by names like Mātā, Ambā, etc¹.

The seal from Harappa bearing a nude female figure turned upside down with outspread legs and a plant issuing from its womb has on its reverse side the figure of a man with a sickle in his hand and a woman seated on the ground with hands raised in supplication.² The seal is taken to depict a human sacrifice to the Earth Goddess. The Indus Valley settlers seem to have worshipped her in her aniconic form also which is found in the ring stones discovered at Mohenjodaro and Harappa symbolising the mother aspect of the Goddess.

Vedic Age

In the Ṛgveda Prṥthvī is a guardian deity with whom the mother-cult was associated.³ The Vedic religion indicates prominence of the male gods over the female deities. It may be justified by the then prevailing patriarchal system in the Indo-Aryan Society. The conception of mother-cult may be assumed to have originated and attained a place of supreme importance under the matriarchal social system.

From the point of view of mother-worship, the most important goddess is Prṥthvī, the Earth Goddess, described in the Ṛgveda as the great mother.⁴ Sarasvatī, an important and sacred river in the Ṛgvedic age, has been praised as the best among the mothers, rivers and goddesses and she had an even share in the oblation offered in the sacrifices.⁵ The *Śrīsūkta* describes the origin of

1. VA. pp. 186-187.

2. Ibid; Excavations at Harappa, by M. S. Vats. pp. 368 ff.

3. ERE, IV. p. 706.

4. RV, I. 168.33; AIRT, p. 48; GWI, p. 52.

5. RV, II. 41.16; VM, p. 86.

Śrī.¹ The *Devīsūkta* and *Rātrisūkta* may be taken as the origin of the mother cult of India.² In the *Vājasaneyī Samhitā*³ we find the goddess Ambikā as the sister of Rudra. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* identifies Pṛthvī with Śrī.⁴ Ambikā is found as the wife of Śiva in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* and she is referred to as Durgā, Kātyāyanī, Karālī, Bhadrakālī, Varadā, Kanyākumārī. etc.⁵ The *Mahābhārata* describes the female deities such as the dreadful Kālī, goddess Kātyāyanī, Caṇḍī, Durgā, etc.⁶ The development of the mother goddess is seen also in the *Kena Upaniṣad*.⁷

When we reach the age of the Purāṇas, we find a common tendency to regard all the mother goddesses as associated with Śakti.⁸ The *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa* expounds the glory of the goddess Durgā.⁹ The *Matsya Purāṇa*¹⁰ enumerates at least 108 places sacred to Devī.

Śaktism in the Nārada Purāṇa.

In the *Nārada Purāṇa* the mother cult plays an important part. Among the mother goddesses Rādhā figures as the most prominent deity associated with Lord Kṛṣṇa. The other female deities are described as only aspects of Rādhā. Lakṣmī, Durgā, Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī and Devī are the other prominent female deities mentioned in the *Nārada Purāṇa*.

Rādhā

The term 'Rādhā' is derived from the root 'Rādh' in the sense of conciliating or pleasing; so it may be probable that she may be the Gopī, for whom Lord Kṛṣṇa had a special favour,

1. RV, V, GWI, p. 58.
2. RV, X. 125; BRMIC, p. 81; RV, X, 127; PB, p. 228.
3. Vj. S. III. 57; PB, p. 228.
4. A. Br. VIII. 5; GWI, p. 53.
5. Tt. Ā, X, 18; HD, II. 2. p. 738; ETSI, p. 51.
6. Mbh (B), Bhīṣma, 23 interpolation, ref. Mbh. VI. App. I.I. 1-5; Mbh (B), Vana, 39.4, etc., Mbh, III. 40.4, etc., only Umā is mentioned; HD, II. 2. p. 738; AIRT, p. 69.
7. K. Up, III. II. 12; IV. 1.2; ETSI, p. 52.
8. GWI, p. 57.
9. Mār, Chs. 81-93; HD, II. 1. p. 738.
10. M, 13; CHMP, p. 193.

referred to in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Rādhā is not recognised by the Bhāgavatas or Mādhvas. The first reference to Rādhā is found in the *Gopāla tāpanīya Upaniṣad* which is considered as the holy text revered by all Rādhā-worshipping sects. The *Nārada Pañcarātra Samhitā* refers to Rādhā, mentioned as the highest of the beloved ones of Kṛṣṇa. She is represented to have been manifested by the original Lord becoming two, one of which was Rādhā. In the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* she has been described as a woman sprung from the primordial body of Kṛṣṇa, forming its left side and is said to be seen in this world and in the Goloka (world of cows). Rādhā was worshipped in North India long before Madhva's time, though Madhva himself does not recognise Rādhā. While to Nimbārka Rādhā was the consort of Kṛṣṇa and thus venerable, to Jayadeva she was only a mistress.¹ According to the *Nārada Purāṇa*, Rādhā is believed to have been born from Kṛṣṇa's body. She is at once visible and invisible and is living in Goloka. She is occupying a Tejomaṇḍala (halo of light). Goddess Mahā-lakṣmī took birth from the left of Rādhā's body, while the Gopīs from the pores of her skin, and Viṣṇumāyā from the right side of her body, i. e., from the body of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Sāvitrī Sarasvatī and Gopas also arose respectively from Kṛṣṇa's navel, mouth and the pores of his skin. Thus, the goddesses, viz., Mahā-lakṣmī, Durgā, Sāvitrī and Sarasvatī, are recognised as the incarnations of Rādhā.² Rādhā is fond of Kṛṣṇa and is at the same time worshipped by him, for she is considered to be the Mūlaprakṛti (primeval nature) and the goddess of all gods. Viṣṇumāyā, Kṛṣṇamāyā and Vairājajananī are some of her names. Candrāvati and Lalitā, her two friends, are the two chief deities of the two groups of eight goddesses including Mālāvati and Kalāvati. Rādhā has 32 more associates³, viz., Suśilā, Śaśilekhā, etc.

Mahālakṣmī

The *Śrīsūkta* describes Lakṣmī as the goddess of gold and wealth.⁴ In the *Śukla Yajurveda*⁵, Lakṣmī and Śrī are said to be

1. ORLI, pp. 237-238; No. II. 3.24 ff; VŚ, pp. 58, 93, 123.
2. N, I. 83. 10-32.
3. N, I. 83. 44-47; 88. 7-15.
4. RV, V; AEV, p. 215.
5. Ś. Yaj. XXXI. 22; GWI, p. 58.

the two wives of Āditya. The *Atharvaveda* distinguishes Lakṣmī as Śivā (auspicious) and Pāpiṣṭhā (inauspicious)¹. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Lakṣmī is identified with Pṛthvī. The worship of Śrī is referred to in the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*.² In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* we find Lakṣmī and Śrī invoked together.³

The love story of Śrī in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*⁴ is a reference to her relation with Viṣṇu. According to the *Agni Purāṇa*, Lakṣmī is the consort of Viṣṇu. Her worship is also described in it. Further, there is a description about carving the image of Lakṣmī holding a full-blown lotus flower and a Śrīphala in her right and left hands.⁵ However, in the Purāṇic literature there is an exact picture of Lakṣmī's nature as Śakti and the consort of Viṣṇu. By inscriptional and other literary evidences it seems that the worship of Lakṣmī as a mother goddess came to be established during the Gupta period.⁶

According to the *Nārada Purāṇa*, Lakṣmī is described as Kamalavāsini (occupying a lotus flower), white in colour and wearing jewels and other ornaments including a stone-studded necklace.⁷

Mahālakṣmī as Śrī

The *Matsya Purāṇa* has laid down the standards of making the images of Mahiṣāsuraṇāśini (the goddess as the destroyer of the demon Mahiṣa) and the goddess Śrī.⁸

According to the *Nārada Purāṇa*, Mahālakṣmī took the form of Śrī to destroy the demons like Mahiṣa, in Kalpāntara (another Kalpa). Thenceforth she resides in the Aravinda forest fulfilling the desires of all.⁹ Śrī is described as the goddess of wealth,

1. AIU, p. 470.

2. GWI, p. 58.

3. Rām, III. 46.6; Mbh (B) Vana, 37.33—interpolation, ref. Mbh, III, p. 127, after III. 38.25; AIU, p. 470.

4. Vi, I, 9.104; AEV, pp. 229-230.

5. Ag, Chs. 300-326; 50. 15-21; Ag-A study, pp. 8, 276-277.

6. GWI, pp. 58-59.

7. N, I. 83.50-53.

8. M, 260-261; CHAP, p. 202.

9. N, I. 84.52-55.

occupying a lotus flower and being sprinkled with nectar by four elephants from golden jars. She displays Vara (solicitation), Abhaya (protection from danger), Abja (lotus flower) and Srak (garland) in her four arms. She is clad in silk and wears a crown.¹

Mahālakṣmī's Incarnations

1. *Bālā Tripurā*

She is a deity having three eyes, clad in red and occupying a lotus flower.²

2. *Annapūrṇeśī*

She is a three-eyed deity of golden complexion and in the company of Bhū and Ramā.³

3. *Bagalāmukhī Bṛhatī*

This deity is of golden complexion and is armed with Mudgara (hammer), Paśa (noose), Vajra (thunderbolt) and Raśanā (girdle). She wears the Moon on the forehead and is seated on a golden throne.⁴

Durgā

Durgā is referred to in the Khila (appendix) of the *Rgveda*.⁵ In the *Vājasaneyī Samhitā* she is addressed as Ambikā, the sister of Rudra. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* also holds a similar view.⁶ The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* mentions her (Ambikā or Umā) as the consort of Śiva.⁷ The *Rāmāyaṇa* also reflects the same idea. The *Mahābhārata* contains two important hymns addressed to Durgā.⁸ In the *Kumārāsambhava* she is known as Umā, Pārvatī and Aparṇā.⁹

1. N, I. 84.58-60.
2. N, I. 86.3, 16-17.
3. N, I. 86.63-69.
4. N, I. 86. 82-88.
5. RV. IV. 2.12; BRMIC, IX No. 4, p. 81.
6. VJ. S. III. 57; Tt. Br. I. 6.10. 4-10; PB. Vol. LIX. pp. 227-232.
7. Tt. Ar. X. 18; HD. II. 2. p. 738.
8. Mbh(B), Virāṭa, VI Bhīṣma 23 = interpolations, ref. Mbh, Virāṭaparvan, note, p. 22; Bhīṣma, App. I. I. 1-57. The Durgāstotra appears as an interpolation in the critical edition, but, Banerjee states that it does not minimise the importance and authenticity of its contents, PB, Vol. LIX. pp. 227-232.
9. Kum. I. 26; V. 28; HD, II. 2. p. 738.

Directions for carving the images of the nine different manifestations of Durgā are given in the *Agni Purāṇa*.¹ The *Devī-Māhātmya* in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* glorifies the Goddess Durgā. The references to Durgā-worship in some of her many forms are made in the *Vasavadattā*, *Kādambarī*, *Harṣacarita*, *Gauḍavaho* and *Mālatīmādhava*.² This shows that at least between the 1st and the 6th centuries of the Christian era Durgā worship became popular.

The three-eyed goddess Durgā, known as Viṣṇumāyā, wearing a crescent Moon on her forehead and wearing ornaments and with one thousand hands displaying various weapons, was born from Kṛṣṇa's body. She was given in marriage to Śiva.³ Durgā, who created with Śiva's permission *Deviloka*, a celestial world is believed to do penance there and is credited with three daily incarnations. She is considered as the main source of all the creation and of all the goddesses.⁴

Durgā's Incarnations

1. *Chinnamastā Ramā*

She is a deity occupying Bhānumaṇḍala (solar sphere) with a broken head and scattered hairs, drinking her own blood, sitting on top of Rati and Kāma who are longing for union, and delighted with her companions Dākinī and Varṇinī⁵.

2. *Tripurabhairavī*

She has three eyes bright as a thousand Suns. She wears a red silk garment and a garland of skulls. She has blood-stained breasts and displays in her four arms a Japavaṭī (rosary of beads), Vidyā (learning), Abhaya and Vara.⁶

3. *Mātāṅgī*

Black in colour and with hairs concealing her legs, wearing ornaments made of conch-shells and holding the crescent Moon on her forehead, Mātāṅgī is shown as listening to the talk of a parrot. She is intoxicated and is playing a lute.⁷

1. Ag, 50, 6-13; Ag- A study, p. 276.

2. Mār, 81-93; Kād, Para. 28; Mālatī, act. V; MD, II, 2, p. 738; GWI, p. 66.

3. N, I. 83. 17-19; 27-29.

4. N, I. 83. 70-78.

5. N, I. 87. 1-8.

6. N, I. 87. 41-62.

7. N, I. 87. 100-130.

4. *Dhūmāvātī*

Pale in colour, Dhūmāvātī has a long body, long breasts, untied hair, broken teeth and light coloured clothes. She is unstable, wicked quarrelsome, fearsome, and is a widow. Seated on a chariot, flying a banner with the sign of a heron, she is said to be the destroyer of enemies. She appears to be hungry and thirsty.¹

Savitṛī

The *Rgveda*² mentions a hymn known as Sāvitrī or Gāyatrī in praise of the Sun. Gāyatrī is very famous as the Vedic metre in which the mantras are composed. Later she became personified as goddess Gāyatrī, wife of Brahmā and as the mother of the four Vedas³. She is referred to in the *Bhagavad Gītā* as the best among all the metres.⁴ According to *Agni Purāṇa*, Gāyatrī is a Vedic metre with its several varieties, but in the *Matsya Purāṇa* Sāvitrī is a goddess and there is a description about her worship performed by king Aśvapati of the Madras.⁵ The *Varāha Purāṇa* contains a story glorifying Sāvitrī, the mother of the Vedas. The *Padma Purāṇa* narrates a story in which Sāvitrī is described as the wife of Brahmā and Gāyatrī as an Ābhira girl, brought by Indra to be the second wife of Brahmā. Gāyatrī worship is also described as an auspicious rite.⁶ Nārada mentions that Sāvitrī along with the the four-faced Brahmā took birth from the navel of Hari (Kṛṣṇa).⁷ She is the originator of all the gods, as bright as a thousand Suns and the main source of the Vedas. She is seated upon a Śuka (parrot). She is the wife of Brahmā, and after meditating upon her, he created the creatures, movable and immovable.⁸ In another context, she is addressed as the mother of Vedas and as the deity called Brahmayoni. She is described differently in the three parts of the day : as the four-faced Gāyatrī

1. N, I. 87. 156-160.

2. RV, III. 62.10; AD.

3. GWI, p. 57.

4. Bh. G, I. 35; AD.

5. Ag, 329. 1-5; Ag-A study, p. 117; M, 208; CHMP, p. 284.

6. Var, 2. 63 ff; P. Sṛṣṭi, 17; PR, pp. 238, 121-122.

7. N, I. 83. 20-22.

8. N, I. 83. 109-117.

of the Ṛgvedic form associated with Brahmā she is seated on a white swan in the morning; as the three-eyed Gāyatrī of the Yajurvedic form associated with Rudra she is seated on a bull at noon, and as Sarasvatī associated with Viṣṇu she is seated on Garuḍa in the evening.¹

Sarasvatī

The Ṛgveda describes Sarasvatī as the best among the mothers, best among the rivers and best also among the goddesses, and as such she had a share in the oblations offered in the sacrifices. The other Vedic Saṁhitās identify her with Vāk with two companions, Iḍā and Bhārati (with whom she form a triad).² She is described as an important deity in Buddhism and Jainism also, with some variation in iconographical details. In the Buddhist texts she is variously described as Mahāsarasvatī, Āryavajra-Sarasvatī, etc. In Jainism also she has many names.³ While the Sarasvatī as a river is not forgotten, *Kāvya* literature adores her mainly as the goddess of speech⁴.

In the Purāṇas, Sarasvatī is considered as Śakti as in the case of all other mother goddesses.⁵ The *Vāyu Purāṇa* prescribes a gift of an image of Sarasvatī made of gold or silver.⁶ In the *Agni Purāṇa* Sarasvatī is saluted along with other deities like Śrī and Gaurī in the introductory verse; and there is a description about carving the image of Sarasvatī carrying in her arms a book, a rosary and a lyre. In the other Purāṇas like the *Mārkaṇḍeya* also we find similar salutation.⁷ According to the *Nārada Purāṇa*, Sarasvatī, holding a lute and a book in her arms, took birth from Kṛṣṇa's mouth, and he sent her to Vaiṣṇava to reside with Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa.⁸ White in colour, with face like the full Moon and seated on a white swan Sarasvatī represents Vāk Devatā (goddess of speech).⁹

1. N, I. 27. 44-58.

2. RV, II. 41.16; VM, pp. 86-87; GWI. p. 56.

3. GWI, p. 58.

4. Kum, IV. 39, 43; Raghu, 15.46; NC, Sarga, X.

5. GWI, p. 57.

6. Vā, by Hemādri, q. in Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi PR, p. 17.

7. Ag, 50. 15-21; Ag—A Study, pp. 3, 376; Mār, I. 2.

8. N, I. 83. 30-31.

9. N, I. 83. 96-97.

*Sarasvatī's Incarnations*1. *Mahāsarasvatī*

At the request of the gods, Sarasvatī took incarnation in the Himālayas as Mahāsarasvatī. After killing the demons like Śumbha and Niśumbha, she entered the Mānasa lake. Mahāsarasvatī is white in colour, wearing white garments, holding a lute and a book and wearing ornaments.¹

2. *Kalikā*

The *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa* describes Kālikā. The *Matsya Purāṇa* contains instructions regarding the making of the Kālikā image. According to the *Nārada Purāṇa*, Kālikā is black. She holds a skull, sword, Abhaya and Vara in her four arms. She also wears a garland of skulls, has untied hair and resides in a cemetery.²

3. *Tārā*

Tārā has three eyes and is blue in colour. She wears the crescent Moon on her forehead and other ornaments on other parts of her body and is seated on a dead body.³

Devī

Goddess Devī is seen in the *R̥gveda*,⁴ in the Sūkta on Vāg Āmbhr̥ṇī and also in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka. She is known by the names of Bhadrakālī, Bhavānī, Durgā, etc. in the later Vedic ritual texts like the *Sāṅkhyāyana* and *Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhya Sūtras*.

Her Jaganmātā or Jagadambikā aspects are very prominent in the Durgā-stutis of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.⁵ The *Matsya Purāṇa* mentions that Devī is omnipresent.⁶

According to the *Nārada Purāṇa*, Devī is the greatest Śakti of Śiva. She is the sleep residing in Nārāyaṇa's eyes and the Śakti creating the whole universe. She is Jagadambikā and Bhuvaneśvarī, i.e., the mother and the mistress of the world.

She is bright as the rising Sun and has three eyes and lofty breasts. She wears the Moon on her forehead and displays Vara,

1. N, I. 84. 78-84.

2. N, I. 85. 1-7.

3. N, I. 85. 35-41.

4. RV, X. 125; GWI, p. 60.

5. PB, Vol, LIX. pp. 229-230.

6. M, 13.14; CHMP, p. 193.

Paśa, Ankuśa and Abhaya in her arms. She appears always with a smile.¹

The main contribution of *Nārada* in the growth of Śāktism in India is the elevation of Rādhā to the position of the chief presiding deity in Śāktism. Besides, he regards the other deities to be amśavatāras (partial incarnations) of Rādhā and thus subordinate to her. Further, it was *Nārada*, who presumably, for the first time, attributed avatāras even to the avatāras. The later practices in Śāktism in which Durgā generally occupies the position of the main deity, do not seem to have been based on *Nārada*, in as much as Rādhā is the Supreme deity according to *Nārada*.

iv. Tāntrism

In the *R̥gveda* the word 'Tantra' is used to mean a loom.² In the *Atharvaveda* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* also it is used in the same sense.³ The *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini uses it to mean Siddhānta.⁴ The 15th Adhikaraṇa of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* is titled as *Tantrayukti* which means 'cannons or principles of exposition of a 'Śāstra'. The *Amarakośa* explains it as 'principal matter or part' of Siddhānta, doctrine or Śāstra. Thus, *Kapila Tantra*, *Gautama Tantra*, etc., refer respectively to the systems attributed to Kapila,⁵ Gotama, etc. In none of these cases is the word 'Tantra' used to mean 'a class of works' in which sense it is employed in mediaeval times.⁶ Today, its widely accepted sense is a "literature which spreads knowledge, and particularly knowledge of profound things with the aid of mystic diagrams (Yantra) and words possessing esoteric meanings (mantra), and helps the attainment of salvation".⁷

Origin of the Tantras

The rudimentary ideas of Tāntrism are found in the *R̥gveda* onwards. There are traces of some of the Ṣaṭkarmas (the six kinds of practices) of the Tantra distinctly met with in different parts of the Vedic literature. We notice the use of mystic words

1. N, I. 84.1-17.

2. RV, X. 71.9; HD, V. 2. p. 1031.

3. AV, X. 7.42; Tt. Br, II. 5.5.3; HD; V. 2. p. 1032.

4. Pāṇ, IV. 2.60; HD, V. 2. p. 1032.

5. TSRL, p. 1.

6. HD, V. 2. p. 1033.

7. *Tantric Religion*, by H. D. Bhattacharyya, AIK, p. 314.

or syllables like *Vaṣaṭ*, *Svāhā*, etc., in the *R̥gveda*.¹ There are some hymns, which indicate the practice of *Uccāṭana* (driving away), *Vaśikaraṇa* (bringing under control), removal of diseases, etc., during the *R̥gvedic* period. The *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, *Atharvaveda*, *Kātyāyana Śrautra Sūtra* and *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* refer to some hymns, which are used in removing poison and driving away the demons. The practices similar to *vaśikaraṇa* are described in the *Taittirīya Samhitā*, the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, etc.² Again the *Atharvaveda* is replete with such spells and rites which were later followed by the *tantras*.³

The magical rites of the *Tāntrik* form are also referred to in the Buddhist and the Jain canonical works. In the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali, there is a description of the efficacy of the mantras and drugs for the attainment of perfection. The *Brahma sūtra* also refers to *Tāntrism*.⁴

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have reference to the use of wine and meat in the worship of goddess *Gāṅgā*.⁵

In the *Mahābhārata* also we meet with *Tāntrik* deities like *Durgā*.⁶ The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya mentioned various charms and practices of *Stambhana* (striking a man dumb).⁷ In the *Purāṇas* we find several references to the *Tantras* scattered in various places.

On the basis of the 'Kubjikāmata Tantra' preserved in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Farquhar concludes that formal *Śākta* theology and ritual were already in existence about 600 A. D. He also states that another manuscript, the *Niśvāsātattva Samhitā*, which dates from the 8th century A. D., gives details of all aspects

1. RV, VII. 99.7; 100.7; I. 13.12; V. 5.11; VII. 2.11; HD, V. 2. p. 1035.
2. RV, X. 145.159; X. 162; Vj. S, VII. 3; Kśs, IX. 4.39; Tt. Ā, IV. 27; Tt. S, II. 3.1; Tt. Br, II. 3.10, etc., TSRL, p. 13.
3. AV, I. 2, 9, 11, 21; II. 18, 30; IV. 7, 13, etc.
4. Ys, IV. 1; BS, II. 2.34; TSRL, pp. 15-16.
5. Rām, Ayodhya, LII. 89; TSKL, p. 17.
6. Mbh (B), Vana, 39.4=Mbh, III. 40.4; Cf. Śaktism. supra. pp. 225ff.
7. Arth, XIV. 3; TSRL, p. 17.

regarding Śakta life.¹ In a hymnal tantrik work ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya, sixty-four Tantras are referred to.²

The Tāntrik Principles.

The teaching of the Tantras introduces a new form of Sādhana (application) based on the Karmamārga of the Vedas, the Jñānamārga of the Upaniṣads and the Bhaktimārga of the Purāṇas. It is a synthesis of all former forms and it preaches a new doctrine accepted by all sects like the Buddhists, Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas, Śaktas and others.³ The basis of the Tāntrik philosophy is the doctrine of Prakṛti (original cause) and Puruṣa (representative of a generation) as propounded by the Sāṅkhya school of thought. The Puruṣa, the Supreme Brahman, is inactive, while his spouse is active. All the activities like creation are her functions. Hence she is considered more important than Puruṣa and the whole world is merely the unfolding the Śakti (power) identified directly or indirectly with the Mūla Prakṛti (the primeval nature).⁴

The Tāntrik Schools are :

(1) Buddhist, (2) Hindu and (3) Jaina.

The Tantra schools are also classified according to the deities worshipped and the ritualistic procedure followed. According to the *Śaktisaṅgama Tantra*⁵ the schools are :

(1) Vaiṣṇava, (2) Gāṇapatya, (3) Śaiva, (4) Svāyambhuva, (5) Cāndra, (6) Pāśupata (7) Cīna, (8) Jaina (9) Kālāmukha and (10) Vaidika.

According to the *Nārada Pañcarātra* there are seven kinds of *Pañcarātra Tantras*, Brāhma, Śaiva, Kaurma,⁶ etc. Some of the Purāṇas like the *Kūrma* and *Līṅga* refer to the sects variously as (1) Vāma, (2) Pāśupata, (3) Soma, (4) Lāṅgala, (5) Bhairava, (6) Kāpāla and (7) Nākula⁷.

1. ORLI, pp. 199-200.

2. ETSI, p. 118; *Saundaryalaharī*, verse, 31; HD, V. II. p. 1049.

3. ERE, XII. p. 193; ETSI, p. 119.

4. ORLI, pp. 199-201; ETSI, p. 119.

5. *Śaktisaṅgama Tāntre*, V. 92-3; TSRL, p. 50.

6. MP, I. 1. 56-57; TSRL, pp. 57-58.

7. L, IX; XXII. 3; TSRL, p. 51.

The Tāntrik Works

The Tāntrik works are known as Āgamas and Nigamas. Āgamas are repeated by Śiva to his spouse goddess Pārvatī and they are approved by Viṣṇu. Nigamas are issued from goddess Pārvatī. In the Vaiṣṇava Tantras, Viṣṇu in one of his various forms is represented as the speaker, in the Buddhist Tantras like Saṅgītis, Buddha or a Bodhisattva, in the Vaiṣṇava Pañcarātra work *Ahīrbudhnya Saṁhita*, Ahīrbudhnya, a form of Śiva, and Nārada and in the *Nārada Pañcarātra* Mahādeva and Pārvatī and some times Mahādeva and Nārada.¹ According to the later works, Tantras are classified into three groups, viz., Viṣṇukrānta, Rathamkrānta and Aśvakrānta, containing 64 Tantras in each of the three groups.² The *Kulārṇava-tantra* and *Paraśurāma-kalpasūtra* refer to five Āmnāyas (East, West, South, North and Ūrdhva) as the paths of Mokṣa (salvation). According to Bagchi, Tāntrik works are divided into three as Srotas (which are three), Piṭha and Āmnāya.³

Tantra in the Purāṇas

In the early stage, we find some of the Purāṇas even denouncing Tāntrism as it was considered non-Vedic, because its teachings went against the ideas and practice of Brāhmaṇical doctrines. But the influence of Tāntrism can be noticed in the *Matsya Purāṇa* in matters connected with mantra-nyāsa (a mystical sanctification of body with a chanting of mantras), the occasional use of Tāntrik mantras of Abhicāra (witch-craft), the drawing of Padma (lotus) or Maṇḍala, Cakra (circles), during worship in vows, consecration, etc., and worship of virgin girls in the *Vīravrata*.⁴ The Purāṇas like *Agni*, *Garuḍa* and *Padma* insert Tāntrik elements in abundance in initiation.⁵ The performance of nyāsa and the use of Tāntrik mantras are found in the consecration of images in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*. In the practice of various rites the frequent performance of nyāsas, mudrās and the use of mystic Tāntrik spells are

1. TSRL, p. 25.
2. PT, pp. 58-59. Introduction by Arthur Avalon; HD, V. 2. p. 1049.
3. *Kulārṇava Tantra*, III. 6-7; *Paraśurāma Kalpa Sūtra*, I.2; *Studies in Tantras* p. 3; HD, V. 2. p. 1049.
4. M, 266. 29-30; 93. 150ff; 58. 21-22; 62. 16-19; 101. 27-28; PR. p. 260.
5. Ag. Chs. 27, 81-89; G. I. 9; P. Sṛṣṭi, 31. 8-75; PR. p. 261.

given importance in the *Agni* and the *Garuḍa Purāṇas*. The Yantra has been recognised as a medium of worship by the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, the *Padma Purāṇa*, etc. The *Skanda Purāṇa* holds the Āgamas to be equivalent to the Vedas, Purāṇas and Upaniṣads because it says that Śambhu can be realised through them.¹ By the end of the 8th century A. D. Tāntrism had established a firm footing especially in the Purāṇas, as some of these works recognised Tāntrism as of equal importance with other religious practices. Apart from the Purāṇic rites, the Vedic rites also are found influenced by Tāntrism. For, in the *Kūrma Purāṇa* there is a method of Gāyatrī uddhāra—a mystic Tāntrik performance preceded with the repetition of Gāyatrī. In the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* the performance of nyāsa is required in the Vaidiki Saṁdhyā. The *Devībhāgavata* and the *Varāha Purāṇa*-s also introduce Tāntrism to supplement the Vedic customs and rites. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* recognises Tāntrism as an authority on the consecration of trees, parks, etc. Regarding the influence of Tāntrism on Purāṇas, Hazra states : “The great spread of the Tantric cult among the Hindus and the Buddhists made its influence felt more and more by the Purāṇas. Consequently, the Tāntric elements made their way into the Purāṇas in a greater degree as the interpolations in these works were later”².

The *Nārada Purāṇa* has recorded Tāntrism in detail in 29 chapters (N. I. Chaps. 63-91) of the first part. Nārada mentions that the portion related to Tāntrism is known as Bhāgavata Tantra a very great work explaining other Tantras (like Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Gāṇapatya, Saura and Śakta). It adds that among all the Tantras, this Tantra is the greatest and the most auspicious³.

This Tantra gives a description of various deities and procedures to be followed for the fulfilment of people's desires and a number of mantras connected with different deities. In short, Tantra is a religion, the knowledge of which leads a person to Viṣṇu. Furthermore, Tantra helps in achieving all the four principal objects of human life, i.e., Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa.⁴

1. G, I. 48; 17.2; 221; P, Pātāla, 79 I, etc.; SK, I. 1.5. 109-110; PR, pp. 261-262.

2. K, II. 14. 57-61; G. I, 221; D. Bh, VII. 39. 28-31; Var, 66. 10-11b; Bhv. II. 1.11.1; PR, pp. 260-264.

3. N, I. 63-12; 91. 230; 92.2.

4. N, I. 91. 231-235; 73. 12.

While explaining the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa 'Yugala' Sahasranāma (One thousand names of Rādhākṛṣṇa), Sanatkumāra mentions that it was narrated by Śiva to Nārada¹. By this statement it may be assumed that the whole Tantra may have been narrated to Nārada by Śiva himself.

"That is called Mantra by the meditation (manana) upon which Jīva acquires freedom from sin, enjoyment of heaven, and liberation, and by the aid of which he attains in full the four-fold, fruit, that is, dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa."² According to the *Piṅgalā Tantra*, Mantra is "that from which the true knowledge of the universe and freedom from the bondage of the world is attained."³ In the *Nārada Purāṇa* the word 'mantra' is associated with the combination of the two words 'manana' meaning 'Sarva-veditva' (knowing every thing) and 'trāṇa' meaning 'Samsārya-nugraha' (blessing one by giving him liberation from the world); thus mantra is that which gives knowledge and freedom from the world.⁴

Mantras are divided into three categories male, female and neuter, according as they end in 'hum' or 'phaṭ, 'ṭhas' (Svāhā) and 'namaḥ' respectively. These three kinds of mantras are used for six different practices. Another classification is that the mantras with 'Om' 'R' at end and Śvāhā' are known as 'Āgneya' (related to fire), and that with 'Bhṛgubīja' (Saṁ) and 'Pīyūṣabīja' (Vaṁ) as 'saumya' (related to Soma, the Moon). The male deities preside over the mantras and the female deities over the *vidyas*. In the process of breathing, when the air passes through the *nāḍī Piṅgalā* (the artery on the right side from the right testicle to the right nostril) the 'Āgneyas' so far dormant are awakened; if the breath passes through *Iḍā* (the *nāḍī* on the left side from the left testicle to the left nostril) the 'saumyas'; and if it passes through the nerve 'Suṣumnā' (the *nāḍī* in the middle of the body in the vertebral column) all the other mantras become awakened. Chanting the mantra in its dormant state would cause misery. The mantras should not be chanted without invoking. When thus invoked, the deity fulfils the desires of a person.

1. N, I. 82. 6-10.

2. PT, p. 175.

3. PT, p. 411.

4. N, I. 64 3.

Mantras should be chanted without controlling or stopping the breath (Nāvyānām). In Anuloma (regular order) they should be chanted with 'bindu' (Anusvāra, i.e., dot) and in viloma' (reverse), with 'visarga' (a symbol in writing representing a distinct hard aspiration and marked by two dots (:)). If the mantra is capable of awakening, the deity will produce Siddhi (success), and if a mantra is chanted with 'mālā' (garland or chain spell), even the defective mantra will become Siddha (perfected). The Āgneya mantras are effective in evil practices and Saumya mantras in mild practices. Yet another classification of mantras is; Śānta (calm), Jñāna (knowledge), and Raudra (terrifying). The defective mantras do not protect a person.¹

Nārada has given an explanation and characteristics of the defective mantras as follows :

1. Chinna (cut) is a mantra with Vahnibīja with which it may be Saṁyukta (joined), Viyukta (disjoined) or Svārasahita (conjoined with vowel) at its beginning, middle or end. It may occur, three, four or five times.
2. Ruddha (obstructed) is one with two Bhūmibījas (Lam) in its beginning, middle or end.
3. Śaktihīna (powerless) : A mantra combined with three Tāras (Om) and Varmas (Hum) is known as Lakṣmī, and the reverse of it is called Śaktihīna.
4. Parāṇmukha (having the face turned away) is a mantra with Kāmabīja (Klīm) at its beginning, Māyābīja (Hrīm) at its middle and Aṅkuśabīja (Krom) at its end.
5. Karṇahīna (deaf) is a mantra with 'sa' at its beginning, middle or end.
6. Netrahīna (blind) is a Pañcākṣara (of five letters) mantra without 'ra' arka (ma) or bindu.
7. Kīlita (nailed) is a mantra with Haṁsabīja (Saṁ), Prāsādabīja or Vākḥbīja (Ai) or Haṁsa, Indu or 'Sa', 'Phe' or 'Hum' at its beginning, middle or end, or without 'ma', 'pra' or 'namāmi.'
8. Stambhita (stunned) is one without 'ma', 'pra' or 'namāmi' in the middle or astra or 'la' at the end.

1. N, I. 64. 4-13.

9. Dagdha (burnt) is a mantra of seven letters with Agnibīja or Pavanabīja (ya).
10. Srasta (fallen) or Trasta (frightened) has no Tāra at its beginning and it is of two, three, six or eight letters.
11. Bhīta (alarmed) is a mantra with 'ha' or Śakti.
12. Malina (impure) is one with four 'ma's at its beginning, middle or end; in produces the desired fruit with much difficulty.
13. Tiraskṛta (rejected) is a mantra with 'da' at its middle and two krodhabījas at its end, containing Astra (Phaṭ).
14. Bhedita (divided) is one with 'ma' or 'ya' and Hṛdayabīja (namaḥ) at its end, and 'Vaṣaṭ' or 'Vauṣaṭ' in the middle.
15. Suṣupta (sleeping) is a mantra with three letters and without Hamsabīja.
16. Madonmatta (insane) is a Vidyā of mantra of 17 letters with five phaṭs.
17. Mūrccita (fainted) is one with 'phaṭ' at its middle.
18. Hatavīrya (bereft of power) is one with 'phaṭ' at its end.
19. Bhrānta (erred) is with four astras at its beginning, middle or end.
20. Pradhvasta (annihilated) is of 18 or 20 letters and is with Kāmabīja together with Hṛdayabīja, Lekhābīja or Aṅkuṣabīja.
21. Bālaka (child) has seven letters.
22. Kumāra (juvenile) has eight letters.
23. Yuvā (youth) is of 16 letters.
24. Prauḍha (matured) is with 24 letters.
25. Vṛddha (old) is one with 30, 64, 100 or 400 letters.
26. Nistriṁśaka (cruel) is of nine letters with Tāra.
27. Nirbīja (seedless) is with Hṛdaya at its end, Śiromantra (Svāhā) in the middle; and Śikhā (Vaṣaṭ), Varma, Netra (Vauṣaṭ) or Astra at the end, or one without Śivabīja or Śaktibīja.
28. Siddhihīna (lacking accomplishment) is one with six phaṭs at its beginning, middle or end.

29. Manda (dull) is Pañktyakṣara (of five letters).
30. Kūṭa (crooked) is of a single letter.
31. Niraṁśaka (lacking the portions) is same as Kūṭa.
32. Sattvahīna (powerless) is of two letters.
33. Kekara (Squint) is of four letters.
34. Bījahīna (without seeds) is of six or seven and a half letters.
35. Dhūmita (smoky) is with twelve and a half letters.
36. Ālīngita (embraced) is with 20, 30 or 31 letters and three and a half bījas.
37. Mohita (deluded) is one with 32 letters.
38. Kṣudhārta (hungry) is of 24 or 27 letters.
39. Atidīptaka (excited) is one with 11, 25 or 23 letters.
40. Aṅgahīna (maimed) is of 26, 36 or 29 letters.
41. Atikrūra or Atikruddha (enraged) is of 18 or 31 letters.
42. Vriḍita (abashed) is one with 40 to 63 letters.
43. Praśāntamānasa (tranquil) is of 65 letters.
44. Sthānabhraṣṭa (displaced) is of 65 to 89 letters.
45. Vikala (defective) is of 13 or 15 letters.
46. Nisneha (dry) is of 100, 150, 200, 291 or 300 letters,
47. Ativṛddha (decrepit) is of 400 to 1000 letters.
48. Śīthila (shattered) is the same as Ativṛddha.
49. Piḍita (tormented) is a mantra containing more than 1000 letters.

If a mantra contains more than 1000 letters it is known as *stotra*.

Defective mantras become effective when they are chanted by one seated in *yonimudrāsana*. *Yonimudrāsana* is a particular sitting posture in which the ankle of the left leg is kept under the anus and that of the right leg is kept over the genital organ.¹

The Initiation into Mantras

The Teacher and the Student

Having the family tradition in teaching, he who is practising the chanting of mantras daily, is obedient to his teacher, calm,

1. N. I. 64. 13-62.

self-controlled, of a good family, has the capacity of understanding the principles of mantras and tantras, is capable of giving punishment as well as blessing, is not desirous of the property of others, has thinking capacity, has control over his senses, has good speech, is a scholar, has a submissive nature, is in one of the four stages of life, practises meditation, is competent in clearing doubts, is wise and engaged in auspicious practices, is competent to be a teacher.

The special qualities of a student are: Calmness, obedience, purity of heart, auspicious signs, self-control, attention, firmness, fixed ideas and practices, apprehension for ungrateful and sinful persons and an inclination to serve the teacher.

The Principle and Procedure of Testing a Mantra

Before initiating a student into a mantra, the student as well as the mantra should be properly tested. In examining a mantra, the procedure is as follows :—

Draw a square, divide it into sixteen equal squares, write the first letter of the alphabet, i. e., 'A', in the first square, second in the second, third in the third and the fourth in the fourth square. Then write the fifth letter in the square situated in the Agnikoṇa (south-east) of the same, and then continue the writing of the rest of the letters in the same order till all the letters of the alphabet are used. Notice the first letter of the mantra and the letter of the name of the student and find out the squares in which they occur. The counting of the squares should be pradakṣina (clockwise) commencing with the square in which the first letter of the name of the student occurs. If both the letters come in the first square of the first row, then the mantra is known as Siddha (accomplished); when the first letter of the mantra comes in the squares of the second row from the first letter of the name of the student, then the mantra is known as Sādhya (fit for accomplishment); when it is in the squares of the third row, it is Susiddha (fully accomplished), and if it be in the squares of the fourth row, it is Ari (enemy). If the first letters of both come in the first, second, third and the fourth squares of the first row, then the mantra is known as Siddha-Siddha, Siddha-Sādhya, Siddha-Susiddha and Siddhāri respectively. Similarly if they come in the four squares of the second row, it is Sādhya-Siddha, Sādhya-Sādhya, Sādhya-Susiddha and Sādhyāri respectively; if they come in the four

squares of the third row, it is Susiddha-Siddha, Susiddha-Sādhya, Susiddha-Susiddha and Susiddhāri, respectively, and if they be in those of the fourth row, it is Ari-Siddha, Ari-Sādhya, Ari-Susiddha and Ari-Ari respectively.

The mantras called Siddha-Siddha produce full effect, if they are chanted the prescribed number of times; Siddha-Sādhya, Sādhya-Siddha Sādhya-Susiddha and Susiddha-Siddha, when chanted twice that number; and Siddha-Susiddha and Susiddha-Siddha, half the number. Sādhya-Sādhya will prove effective after a long time and Susiddha-Susiddha immediately. Siddhāri and Susiddhāri, if chanted, destroy one's household; Sādhya one's relatives; Ari-Siddha, one's sons; Ari-Sādhya one's daughters; Ari-Susiddha, one's wife; and Ari-Ari, oneself.

There are various other methods of testing a mantra, but the method described above is the most popular one.¹

The student worships the teacher's wooden sandals and honours the teacher by offering him cloths, etc.

The teacher enters the yajñamaṇḍapa (sacrificial pandal), wards off all kinds of evils through the Astramantra, and prepares a 'sarvatobhadramaṇḍala' (a kind of mystical diagram used in invoking a divinity). Worshipping 'vahnimaṇḍala' (the sphere of Agni, the fire) and its 'Kalās' (digits), he performs sacrifice to the 'Sūryakalās' (digits of the Sun), placing a pot before himself. He chants the mūlamantra (the principal mantra of the deity worshipped) of vilomamātrkā, and filling the pot with water, adores the 'Candrakalās' (digits of the Moon) in the same pot. He covers the pot with two garments and puts in it some herbs and nine precious stones. He places the five sprouts of *Panasa* (Jack tree), *Āmra* (Mango), *Aśvattha* (holy fig tree), *Vaṭa* (*Ficus bengalensis*) and *Bakula* (*Mimusops elengi*), on the pot and consecrates his deity.

The student occupies the *Vedī* (altar) and the teacher sprinkles water on him. The teacher then keeps the sprouts on the student's head, chanting the mūlamantra in his mind, and again sprinkles water on him. Then the student performs *ācamana* (sipping of water) with the remaining water and wears a new cloth. He salutes the teacher and takes seat in front of him. The

1. N. I. 65. 1-17.

teacher places his hands on the student's head and repeats the mantra eight times in the ears of the student. Then the student pays respects to the teacher and offers *dakṣiṇā* (gift) to him. The student, after returning home, worships his deity in 'Pañcāyatana' form every day in the prescribed order. He gets up early in the morning and after finishing his daily duties or sitting on the bed itself pays respects to his teacher. Then he repeats the *Pādukā*-mantra and again pays regards to his teacher.¹

The Philosophical Idea of Mantras

The 'mūlavidyā' (knowledge of the supreme spirit) should be meditated upon starting from *Mūlādhāra* (the lowest *Cakra*) to *Brahmarandhra* (the aperture in the crown of the head). Under the navel exists the 'vāyumaṇḍala' (the orb air). There the *Vāyubīja* (air source) with the sound 'Ya' as its symbol is situated, from which the air blows. On the upper level of the 'vāyumaṇḍala' the triangular 'vahnimaṇḍala' (the orb of fire) is placed; *Agnibīja* (fire source) is situated in it, with 'Ra' as its sound symbol. From *Agnibīja*, the fire comes out. One should bring out the air and fire from *Vāyubīja* and *Agnibīja*, and should meditate on *Kuṇḍalinī*, which lies dormant coiled like a snake on *Śivaliṅga* in the *Mūlādhāra*. The *Kuṇḍalinī* is very thin like a lotus-fibre. From the *Kuṇḍalinī*, there emanates a brilliant flash of light. One should awake the *Kuṇḍalinī*, and, piercing the six *cakras* should bring it up to the *Brahmarandhra* through *Suṣumnā* and immerse it in the nectar there. Then he should concentrate on Parama Ātman (the Supreme Spirit of Brahman) as encircled by the *Jyoti* (light) of *Kuṇḍalinī*. The *Kuṇḍalinī* is then brought back to its place, *Mūlādhāra*. This is followed by the meditation and worship of his deity with the prayer 'Trailokyacaitanyamayādideva Śrinātha Viṣṇo.' In the case of the deities other than Viṣṇu, 'Viṣṇo' in the prayer is to be replaced with the name of the particular deity. While completing the performance, he should chant the *Ajapāmantra*; the (*Hamsa-Gāyatrī*). Every soul is supposed to repeat automatically the *Hamsa-Gāyatrī* twenty one thousand and six times every day in the breathing processes without knowing.

Then he should perform *nyāsa* (mystical sanctification of body) in six parts of his body with the mantras 'Sūryātmane

1. Cf. Worship, *infra*.
N. I. 65. 18-66.

hṛdayāya namaḥ,' etc. Japa should be submitted to the 'vahnī-maṇḍala' after performing meditation.¹

The Purāṇa then gives a classification of the mantras based on different deities (a) Rāmamantras, (b) Kṛṣṇamantras, (c) The mantras of Rādhā and of the deities of her group, (d) Śāktamantras, (e) Sauramantras, (f) Gaṇeśamantras and (g) Śivamantras.²

While describing Rāmamantras, Nārada mentions that among all the mantras, the Vaiṣṇavamantras are the best and in the group of Vaiṣṇavamantras, the Rāmamantras. He adds that in Rāmamantras also, the Rāmamantra of six letters is the most auspicious one.³ Besides, Nārada gives with the full texts, some hymns (*Stotras*) of different deities. The prominent hymns are: (1) Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-Yugala Sahasranāma Stotra (one thousand names of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa)⁴, (2) Lalitā Sahasranāma Stotra (1000 names of Lalitā)⁵, (3) The 100 names of Sāvitrī⁶, (4) Sāvitrī-pañjara⁷, (5) Kārtavīrya Kavaca⁸, (6) Māruti Kavaca⁹, (7) The 100 names of Lord Śiva¹⁰.

Yantras—The Mystic Diagrams

Yantras are geometrical figures made from linear elements intended to represent, in a synthetic form, the basic energies of the natural world, which are the deities. They are the visual equivalents of the mantras of thought forms"¹¹. Nārada describes the preparation of various Yantras and their use for acquiring prosperity, protection, etc. Some of the important Yantras referred to in this work are the following:—

- (1) Trailokyamohanayantra inscribed on the leaf of Bhūrja (birch) fulfils one's desires.¹²

1. N, I. 65. 67 80.
2. N. I. 91. 234.
3. N, I. 73. 2-5,
4. N, I. 82.
5. N, I. 89.
6. N, I. 83. 155-166.
7. N, I. 83. 138-154.
8. N, I. 77.
9. N, I. 78.
10. N, I. 122.51-67.
11. HP, p. 350.
12. N, I. 71. 86.89.

- (2) Nārasimhayāntṛa incised on golden plate or that of any other metal yields victory, influence and protection.¹

Other yantras mentioned are 'Sarvavaśāṅkara' (bringing all under one's control), 'Kālāntaka' (the destroyer of death), 'Saṁpatprada' (giving wealth), 'Yantrarāja' (king of Yantras), 'Sarvasiddhipradāyaka' (giving complete success), 'Hanumadyāntṛa', 'Bandhamokṣakarayāntṛa' (relieving from confinement), etc.²

The Tantrik Practices

The Purāṇa then gives descriptions of the *Ṣaṭkarmas*, including the black practices prevalent among the *Vāma-mārgīs* (left hand worshipper). The *Ṣaṭkarmas* are :

- (1) *Paṣṭika* (promoting welfare or *Śānti*) (propitiatory).
- (2) *Vaśya* (bringing one under control).
- (3) *Stambhana* (striking a man dumb or arrest).
- (4) *Vidveṣa* (causing antagonism between persons).
- (5) *Uccāṭana* (driving away) and
- (6) *Māraṇa* (destruction).
- (7) *Paṣṭika* or *Śānti*.

There are various practices of this followed by worship of deities, chanting of mantras and sometimes with a performance of *homa* (sacrifice) and taking of medicines also. For examples in connection with the worship of Gaṇeśa, it is said that a powder prepared by a person chanting a particular Gaṇeśamantra 1000 times after performing a *Yajña* (sacrifice) to Lord Gaṇeśa, if taken by a barren woman on the fourth day after her monthly course, makes her mother of a male child.³

In another context, Nārada explains that by chanting Lakṣmaṇa-mantra one lac times, a person recovers from Mahāroga (great or fatal disease).⁴ We have reference to such practices in connection with almost all the deities described above.

(2) *Vaśya* :

By offering different flowers e.g. a *Padma* to Gaṇeśa, one can influence a king, with *Utpala* a queen, with *Kumuda* a minister, and

1. N. I. 71.91-96.
2. N. I. 71.96,98; 72.27; 73.35; 74. 62-70, 172-176.
3. N. I. 68. 80-84.
4. N. I. 73-158.

so on.¹ Performing homa with *Kumuda* one thousand times together with the chanting of Viṣṇumantra; one can bring all the kings under one's control.² Chanting Lakṣmaṇa mantra one lac times and performing homa with lotus ten thousand times will enable one to marry the girl of one's choice immediately.³

(3) *Stambhana*:

By chanting Nṛharimantra followed by a *homa* with *Dhātṛi-khaṇḍa* one can stupefy the world.⁴ The worship of goddess Mātangeśvarī by performing *homa* with a mixture of salt and turmeric powder will have similar effect.⁵

(4) *Vidveṣa* :

In connection with *vidveṣa* practices, there are descriptions like the preparation of a *Yantra* on the skin of a donkey and performance of a *homa* with *Hayamāra* (*Nerium tinctorium*) flower by chanting the mantras of Hanumān.⁶

(5) *Uccāṭana*:

A person performing a *homa* with cow's ghee worshipping Nṛhari and chanting Jvālāmālīmantra one lac times will be able to drive away the Raudra bhūtas (terrifying ghosts) and Apasmāra bhūtas (epileptic ghosts)⁷.

(6) *Māraṇa*:

By chanting Kārtavīryamantra and by performing a *homa* with the articles like *Sarṣapa* (mustard), *Ariṣṭa* (*Sapindus emarginatus*), *Laṣuna* (garlic), or *Kārpāsa* (cotton), the enemies can be destroyed.⁸

Sensual and Witchcraft Practices

While describing the Kālīmantras, Nārada mentions worship of the female organ with chanting Kālīmantra 1000 times to acquire

1. N. I. 68-37.
2. N. I. 70-200.
3. N. I. 73. 166-167.
4. N. I. 71-84.
5. N. I. 87-153.
6. N. I. 73. 42; 74. 55.
7. N. I. 71. 100-106; See also N. I. 75. 98-104; 80.274-276, etc.
8. N. I. 76. 31; 87. 28, etc.

the power of speech. If a naked person with matted hair chants Kālīmantra 10000 times at midnight in a cemetery, he will have every success.¹ If he sits naked on a corpse and worships goddess Kālī with *Arka* flowers mixed with his own semen and repeats Kālīmantra, he becomes a king within a short period. If one meditating on the genital organ of a woman in her monthly course chants Kālīmantra he becomes a popular poet.

In connection with the *Paṣṭika* practices, Nārada describes a *bali* (sacrifice) to goddess Kālī with the flesh of animals like cat, camel, donkey, etc., to be performed at midnight on the 14th day of the dark half.² The performance of a *Tarpaṇa* (libation) with blood is also described above. If a person sitting on a corpse in a cemetery, lonely place, temple, mountain or forest and looking, touching a woman or in union with her, offers to Kālī a *bali* of a person killed in war or of a child six months old, he is said to acquire the *Vidyā*.³

In the worship of female deities, we find the use of articles *Āsava* (liquor), *Matsya* (fish) and *Māṃsa* (flesh).⁴

The Description of Cakras

The *Cakras*, situated on the *Merudaṇḍa* (vertebral column), are the centres of subtle forces and cosmic consciousness. These are the instruments, with the help of which, the seven unavoidable stages are to be realised.⁵

The following are the *Cakras* enumerated in the *Naradīya* :

- (1) *Mūlādhāra cakra* (Pelvic plexus) is a fourpetalled lotus combined with four *bījas*, viz., *va*, *śa*, *ṣa* and *sa*, and is presided over by Lord Gaṇeśa with *pāśa* (noose), *aṅkuśa* (hook), *sudhā-pātra* (nectar vessel) and *modaka* (sweet meat) in his hands. For meditating on the diety, a *japa* (chanting) for 600 times is prescribed.
- (2) *Soādhīṣṭhāna cakra* (hypogastric plexus) is a six-petalled lotus with the six letters, viz., *ba*, *bha*, *ma*, *ya*, *ra*, and *la*,

1. N. I. 85. 20-21.

2. N. I. 85. 22-28.

3. N, 85. 31, 70-72.

4. N, I. 90. 28.

5. TOPS, pp. 167, 171.

and is presided over by Brahmā along with Śakti seated on a swan, holding *śruva* (sacrificial ladle) and *akṣamāla* (rosary) in his hands. Meditation upon the deity and a japa for 6000 times are prescribed here.

- (3) *Maṇipūraka cakra* (solar plexus) is a tenpetalled lotus and ten letters, viz., *ḍa*, *ḍha*, *ṇa*, *ta*, *tha*, *da*, *dha*, *na*, *pa*, and *pha*, and is presided over by Lord Viṣṇu, holding *śaiṅkha* (conch shell), *cakra* (wheel), *gadā* (club) and *padma* (lotus) in his hands, accompanied by Lakṣmī. A japa for 600 times meditating on the deity is prescribed in this context.
- (4) *Anāhatārkaṣatra cakra* (cardiac plexus) is a twelve-petalled lotus and 12 letters viz.; *ka* to *ṭha*, and is presided over by Rudra, holding *śūla* (trident), *abhaya* (the gesture resembling protection from fear or danger), *vara* (solicitation), and *amṛtakalaśa* (nectar vessel) in his hands and seated on an ox along with Pārvatī. The deity is invoked by the performance of japa 6000 times.
- (5) *Viśuddha cakra* (Pharyngeal plexus) is a sixteen petalled white lotus and 16 vowels and is presided over by Indriyādhipati. The sacred chanting is performed 1000 times meditating on the deity.
- (6) *Ājñā cakra* (plexus of command) is a two-petalled lotus and two letters, viz., *ha* and *kṣa*. It is presided over by Jagad-guru (universal teacher) Sadāśiva along with Parā Śakti (supreme power). The deity is meditated upon with a japa for 1000 times.

Sahasrāra is a lotus of 1000 petals and all the *varṇas* (letters) including *nāda* (sound) and *bindu* (dot). It is presided over by Paramādi Guru, with *abhaya* and *vara*. The meditation on the deity with a japa for 1000 times is prescribed.

Then the oblations of water are offered to Viṣṇu. The worshipper should identify himself with Brahma and should proceed with the performance of worship.¹

Śaucācāras (Ablutionary Rites)

A person tests his breathing when he gets up from his bed. Paying homage to his deities, he performs *Śaucācāras* and takes

1. N, I. 65. 81-96.

his bath followed by the daily worship of *Sandhyā*. Regarding bath it is said that if he is not in a position to bathe in water due to sickness or other similar reasons, he may purify himself by reading the *agha-marṣaṇa* mantras, by the mere application of ashes or soil on particular parts of the body.

Sandhyā Vandana (Daily Worship of Sandhyā)

He performs the daily worship of *Sandhyā* thrice a day with *nyāsa* (a mystical sanctification of body) chanting the mantras prescribed and *ācamana* (sipping of water). In the performance of *Sandhyā*, the different sects like Śaivas, Śaktas and Vaiṣṇavas use mantras, which differ according to their deities.

Afterwards, he offers *arghya* (oblation) to the Sun, chants Gāyatrīmantra 108 or 28 times, and meditates on goddess Gāyatrī, as Brāhmī in the morning, as Śaivī at noon, and as Vaiṣṇavī in the evening. Then he performs *tarṣaṇa* (libations of water) to his ancestors, family deity, Garuḍa, Nārada, the great mountains, etc. He enters the place of worship after paying homage to the Sun and performs *ācamana* and *homa*. Then he performs *Māṛkānyāsa* (primary mystical sanctification of the body) and worship of 'dvārapālakas' (guards at the door).¹

Worship

The earliest form of worship is known in the *Rgveda* and other Samhitās, where we find reference to worship of the powers of nature such as Agni, the fire, the Sun etc.² There are passages where the deities of the *Rgveda* are spoken of as possessed of bodily attributes. The *Vājasaneyī Samhitā* speaks of Rudra with a dark-blue throat and red complexion. It further says that he is clad in a skin. Still it is very doubtful whether idols were worshipped in Vedic times.³ But, in the centuries before Christ, idol worship had become widespread in India. The *Gṛhyasūtras* clearly refer to idol worship. According to the *Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra*, Īśāna, his wife and son Jayanta are worshipped. The *Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra* describes matters connected with the defective forms of idols. The *Viṣṇu Dharma-sūtra* mentions the idols of deities and worship of the

1. N, I. Ch. 66.

2. HRCM, p. 24.

3. RV, VIII. 17.5, 8; Vj. S, XVI. 7. 51; HD, II.2. p. 706.

idol of Bhagavat Vāsudeva as an image. Pāṇini also mentions an idol with a long or high nose. Kauṭilya speaks of the importance of erecting shrines in the centre of the capital. Long before Pāṇini, there had arisen professional man who made their livelihood by being regular priests in charge of worshipping idols; and temples of deities existed even in the fourth or fifth century B.C.¹ Thereafter we notice the popularity of image worship in the epics, Purāṇas and other literary works. Besides, the *Bhāgavatas* and the *Pañcarātrins* seem to be mainly responsible for the dissemination of the practice of image worship.² Nārada describes the worship as an act which brings forth fulfilment of one's desires.³

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, the mode of worship is two-fold, viz., (sa-) mantraka' and 'amantraka', and they are performed by means of sacrifice and mantras.⁴ Nārada also makes a five-fold classification of worship as :

1. *Āturi* : When a person is not in a position to take bath or chant mantras due to sickness, he should fix his gaze at his deity or the Sun god and should offer flowers to him recalling the mantras. After recovery from sickness he should perform it as usual.
2. *Sautiki* : When there is impurity caused by the birth or death of a relative, one should perform mental worship. After the period of impurity, he should perform the worship as usual.
3. *Trāsi* : While one is in dread of wicked people he is allowed to perform the worship with the articles at hand.
4. *Sadhanābhāvini* : In case of shortage of the required articles, one may perform the worship with leaves or fruits or one may even resort to mental worship.
5. *Daurbodhi* : It is the worship performed by ladies, old men and the illiterate, i.e., those who are ignorant.⁵

The principal deity worshipped is given the central position with the deities, Agni, Nirṛti and Vāgīśa surrounding it. If one

1. Āp, Gr, XX. 1-3; Mv, Gr, II. 15.6; VDS, XXIII. 34; 63.27; Pāṇ, IV. 1.54; Arth, II. 4; HD, II. 2, pp. 708-710.
2. AIU. p. 452.
3. N. I. 67.1.
4. M, 183. 43-44; CHMP, p. 223.
5. N, I. 67. 124-140.

wishes to give special homage to Viṣṇu, then Viṣṇu is given the central position and the other deities, viz., Gaṇeśa, Sun, Śivā and Śiva surround him; similarly if Śiva is the special deity the surrounding deities are the Sun, Gaṇeśa, Ambā and Hari; if Śivā, they are Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Arka and Govinda; if Gaṇeśa, they are Śiva, Śivā, the Sun and Viṣṇu; and if the Sun, then they are Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu, Ambā and Śiva. Thus the five deities are worshipped daily. This mode of worship explained by Nārada is the Pañcāyatana system.¹

Regarding worship and the articles used for it, various views are expressed in different works.

The *Matsya Purāṇa* : describes image worship and the making of images of Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Śākta and Brāhma cults and also refers to the manufacture of images of lead and bronze.² The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* mentions images made of stone, iron, wood, sandal wood or sandal paste, sand, precious stones, etc.³

According to Nārada, a Yantra, Śālagrāma, precious stone or an image made of gold or any other metal and installed accordingly and the Bāṇaliṅgas also are used as symbols in worship. However, the images, which are crooked, burnt, broken, distorted, mutilated or touched by out-castes, should be avoided in worship.⁴ Nārada also prohibits the simultaneous worship of two conch-shells, two cakra-śilās, two Śivaliṅgas, two idols of Gaṇeśa, two idols of the Sun, and three idols of Śakti in a house.⁵

According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, *arghya* is a mixture of the eight articles, viz., curds, whole grain of rice, ends of Kuśa grass, milk, Dūrvā grass, honey, barley grains and white Mustard seeds or as many articles as one can afford out of these. But Nārada terms *arghya* as a mixture of *Puṣpa* (flowers), *Akṣata* (whole grain rice), *Tava* (barley grains), *Kuśāgra* (ends of kuśa grass), *Tila* (sesame), *Sarṣapa* (mustard), *Gandha* (sandal paste), and *Dūrvādala* (bent grass).

1. N, I. 65. 43-47.
2. M, Chs. 258-261; 258, 20-21; CHMP, p. 202; HD, II. 2. p. 715.
3. Bh, XI. 27.12; Sk, 9. in Pūjāprakāśa, pp, 11, 116; HD, II. 2, p. 715.
4. N, I. 67. 31-34.
5. N, I. 67. 120-121.

Nārada mentions *ācamanīya* as the mixture of water, *Jaṭiphala*, *Kaṅkola* and *Lavaṅga* (clove). According to Kane the articles such as cardamom, cloves, *Uśīra* grass and *Kakkola* or as many articles as are at hand are used in the water for *ācamana*¹

A mixture of honey, ghee and curds is called *madhuparka*. The *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* and *Āpastamba Gṛhya Sūtra* "prescribe a mixture of honey and curds or clarified butter and curds". According to the *Paraskara Gṛhya*, it is a mixture of curds, honey and butter, whereas according to most of the *Sūtras*, flesh also is mixed with it.²

Nārada prohibits the use of vessels made of conch shells in worshipping Śiva and the Sun³.

One should not offer torn or dirty clothes to any deity. Red clothes are offered to Śakti, the Sun and Gaṇeśa, yellow to Viṣṇu, and white to Śiva⁴.

Flowers of *Ketakī* (*Pandanus odortissimus*), *Kunda* (a species of jasmine), *Kuṭaja* (*wrightia antidysenterica*), *Bandhūka* (*Pentapetes phoenices*), *Nāgakesara* (*Mesua forrea*), *Japā* (China rose) and *Malatī* (a kind of jasmine) are not to be offered to Śiva; *Mātuliṅga* (*citrus medica*) and *Tagara* (*Cassia tora*) to the Sun; *Dūrvā* (bent grass), *Arka* (Sun-plant) and *Mandāra* (coral tree) to Durgā; *Tulasī* (holy Basil plant) to Gaṇeśa; *Palāśa* (*Butea frondosa*), *Kāśa* (*saccharum spontaneum*), *Tamāla* (the tree with a very dark bark), *Tulasī*, *Dhātṛī* (*Grisles tomentosa*) and *Dūrvā* to Goddess Ambikā; and *Japā*, *Akṣata* (whole grain rice), *Arka* and *Dhattūra* (white thron apple) to Viṣṇu. The leaves and flowers auspicious in worship are *Sarojinī* (lotus), *Damanaka* (*aeschynomene aspera*), *Marubaka* (*ocimum*), *Kuśa*, *Viṣṇukrāntā* (*evolvulus alsimioides*), *Nāgavallī* (*chavica betel*), *Dūrvā*, *Apāmārga* (*achyranthes aspers*), *Dādīma* (*punica granatum*), *Dhātṛī* and *Muni* (*Erithrina suberosa*). The following fruits are to be offered to deities; *Kadalī* (plaintain), *Badarī* (*ziziphus jujuba*), *Dhātṛī*, *Tintiṇī* (tamerind), *Bijapūraka* (citron), *Āmra* (mango), *Dādīma*, *Jambīra* (*citrus medica*), *Jambu* (rose apple) and *Panasa* (jack tree).

1. M, 267. 2; q. in the *Pūjāprakāśa*, p. 34; HD. II. 2. p. 731; N, I. 67. 27-28.

2. N, I. 67. 28; HD, II. 1. p. 545; HD, II. 2. General Index. p. 1316.

3. N, I. 67. 29.

4. N; I. 67. 55-56.

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डा० लुडविक स्टर्नबाख, एल-एल० डी० ;

प्रोफेसर, भारतीय विद्या,

पेरिस विश्वविद्यालय, पेरिस (सोरबोने) ।

श्री आनन्दस्वरूप गुप्त, एम० ए०, शास्त्री ; उपनिदेशक,

पुराण-विभाग, सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यास,

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पुराणम्—PURĀṆA

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व्यासपूर्णमाऽङ्कः [July 23, 1975

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व्यासवन्दना

श्रीवादिराजकृतकरावलम्बनस्तोत्रम्

(Continued from *Purāṇa*, XVI, 2.)

तातापकारिन्पवंशवनप्रदाहवह्ने भृगुप्रवर राम रमानिवास ।
 सूर्याशुशुभ्रपरशुप्रवरायुधाढ्य वासिष्ठ कृष्ण मम देहि करावलम्बम् ॥१२॥
 रक्षोधिराजदशकन्धरकुम्भकर्णपूर्वारिकालन मरुद्वरसूनुमित्र ।
 सीतामनोहरवराङ्ग रघूत्थराम वासिष्ठ कृष्ण मम देहि करावलम्बम् ॥१३॥
 कृष्णप्रियाऽप्रियकरावनिभारभूतराजन्यसूदन सुरद्विजमोददायिन् ।
 भैष्मीपुरस्सरवधूवरकेलिकृष्ण वासिष्ठ कृष्ण मम देहि करावलम्बम् ॥१४॥
 सद्धर्मचारिजिनमुख्यसुरारिवृन्दसंमोहन त्रिदशबोध बुधस्वरूप ।
 उग्रादिहेतिनिचयग्रसनामितात्मन् वासिष्ठ कृष्ण मम देहि करावलम्बम् ॥१५॥
 ज्ञानादिसद्गुणविहीनजनप्रकीर्णकाले कलेस्तुरगवाहन दुष्टहारिन् ।
 कल्किस्वरूप कृतपूर्वयुगप्रवृत्त वासिष्ठ कृष्ण मम देहि करावलम्बम् ॥१६॥
 यज्ञैतरेयकपिलर्षभदत्तधन्वन्तर्यश्वरसन्मुखकुमारसुयोषिदात्मन् ।
 सद्धर्मसूनुवरतापसहस्वरूप वासिष्ठ कृष्ण मम देहि करावलम्बम् ॥१७॥
 सत्केशवादिद्विपदात्मक वासुदेवाद्यात्मादिना सुचतुरूप सुशिशुमार ।
 कृद्धोत्कपूर्वकसुपञ्चकदेवरूप वासिष्ठ कृष्ण मम देहि करावलम्बम् ॥१८॥
 नारायणादिशतरूप सहस्ररूप विश्वादिना सुबहुरूप परादिना च ।
 दिव्याजिताद्यमितरूप सुविश्वरूप वासिष्ठ कृष्ण मम देहि करावलम्बम् ॥१९॥
 श्रीविष्णुनामग सुपर्णग सन्धिगात्मन् मण्डूकसत्तनुजर्हस्वसुनामकेन ।
 ध्यातर्षिणां सुसुखतीर्थकराब्जसेव्य वासिष्ठ कृष्ण मम देहि करावलम्बम् ॥२०॥
 वैकुण्ठपूर्वकत्रिधामगत त्रिरूप स्वक्षादिनामगतविश्वपुरस्सरात्मन् ।
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 (श्री मध्वाचार्य अम्पाचार्य आद्येन संकलितम्)

पशुपति-स्तोत्रम्

[Eulogy of Paśupati Śiva]

देवा ऊचुः

नमः शिवाय शर्वाय सर्वेषां पतये नमः ।
नमो रुद्राय रौद्राय रौद्राणां पतये नमः ॥१
महादेवाय देवाय देवानां पतये नमः ।
तेजोरूपाय लक्षाय तेजसां पतये नमः ॥२
व्यक्ताव्यक्तस्वरूपाय नमो व्यक्तिविभूतिने ।
प्रपञ्चरूपिणेऽजाय प्रपञ्चागोचराय च ॥३
विश्वरूपाय विश्वाय विश्वेषां पतये नमः ।
पराय परमेशाय परातीताय वै नमः ॥४
परापराय पालाय पार्वतीवल्लभाय च ।
हराय हरिणेशाय हरिणाङ्गधृते नमः ॥५
मृगरूपाय मान्याय व्योमस्थाय नमो नमः ।
नमोऽस्तु चैकशृङ्गाय त्रिनेत्राय नमो नमः ॥६
नमोऽस्तु चैकपादाय दंष्ट्राविभूषिताय च ।
पशुरूपाय भव्याय पशुपाशविनाशिने ।
पशुभिः क्रीडमानाय पशूनां पतये नमः ॥७
पशुदेहं समाश्रित्य प्रमथैः पावने वने ।
स्वेच्छया संचरायेश पशुरूप नमोऽस्तु ते ॥८
लोकनिर्वाणबीजाय एकरूपविधारिणे ।
वरदानैकदक्षाय स्थित्युपकारिणे नमः ॥९
त्रात्रे च भक्तिनां नित्यं पशुपते नमोऽस्तु ते ॥१०
व्यक्तो भव महेशान व्यक्तो भवात्र चाम्बरात् ।
त्वां शरणागतानां नो दीयतां दर्शनं विभो ॥११

Skanda-purāṇa, Himvat-Khaṇḍa, 82. 44-54.

Eulogy of Paśupati Śiva

Obeisance to God Śiva (the Auspicious), Śarva (the Destroyer) and the Lord of the Universe. Obeisance to Rudra and the formidable one, and the Lord of the formidable elements.—(1)

Obeisance to God Mahādeva and the Lord of the gods; to the God having a form of splendour, and the Lord of all the splendours.—(2)

Obeisance to the God who is both manifest and unmanifest, manifestation is whose glory, the phenomenal world is whose form, who is unborn and who is invisible to the phenomenal world.—(3)

Obeisance to the God who has innumerable forms, who is the entire universe, who is the Lord of all, who is the Highest Principle, the highest Lord and who is verily beyond the highest.—(4)

Obeisance to the God who is both the higher and the lower, the remote and the proximate, the protector, and the lord of Goddess Pārvatī; obeisance to God Hara, the lord of the deer, the God who has assumed the form of a deer.—(5)

Obeisance to the God in the form of a deer, the adorable, who stays in the sky; obeisance to Him who (in the deer's form) has one horn, three eyes and one foot, who is adorned with tusks, who has the form of a *paśu* (animal). who is handsome and who destroys the cords (of the *Māyā*) which fetter the *paśu*s (or the individual souls); obeisance to the God who plays with the *paśu*s (the animate and the inanimate creation) and who is the Lord of the *paśu*s (individual souls).—(6, 7).

Obeisance to you, O Lord, who assuming the form of an animal (i. e. deer) roams at will with the *pramathas* (attendants of Śiva) in the sacred forest.—(8)

Obeisance to the God who is the seed of the world's salvation, who has one form, who is benevolent in granting boons to his worshippers, and who does good to the universe through its preservation.—(9)

Obeisance to you, O Lord of the *paśu*-s, to you who are always the protector of your worshippers and devotees.—(10).

Be manifest, O Maheśāna (great Lord), be manifest here from the sky; be manifest to us, O all-pervading and all-powerful Lord, to us who have resorted to you for our protection.—(11)

Note on the Pāśupati-stotra

Pāśupati is a form of Mahādeva Śiva mainly worshipped in Nepāla—“महादेवो हि नेपाले पीठस्थाने पशुपतिरित्याख्यया विराजते, यदुक्तं महा-लिङ्गेश्वरतन्त्रे शिवस्य शतनामस्तोत्रे—‘नेपाले च पशुपतिः केदारं परमेश्वरः’ ।”

(Śabda-kalpa-druma under the word पशुपति)

In the scriptures of the Pāśupata Śaivas and also in the Śaivite chapters of the Epics and the Purāṇas God Śiva is often called ‘Pāśu-pati.’ In the Pāśupata sect the word ‘pāśupati’ is generally used in a technical or conventional sense. Etymologically the word ‘pāśu’ means one who is fettered or bound (from the root √pāś to bind).

The *jīvas* or the individual souls are fettered by God Śiva (for the preservation of his creation) with *māyā* in the form of the three *guṇas*. (The word *guṇa* here means the ‘quality’ *satva*, *rajas* and *tamas* and also a ‘cord’). The *Māyā* or *Prakṛti* in the form of the twenty-four *tattvas*, the three qualities, the objects of senses and the actions, the Avidyā or nescience are, therefore, called the *pāśa*-s (पाशाः) or fetters :—

ब्रह्माद्याः स्थावरान्ताश्च देवदेवस्य धीमतः ।

पशवः परिकीर्त्यन्ते संसारवशवर्तिनः ॥११-१२

ब्रह्मादिस्तम्बपर्यन्तं पशून् बद्ध्वा महेश्वरः ।

त्रिभिर्गुणमयैः पाशैः कार्यं कारयते स्वयम् ॥२०-२१

चतुर्विंशतितत्त्वानि मायाकर्मगुणा इति ।

कीर्त्यन्ते विषयाश्चेति पाशा जीवनिबन्धनात् ॥२६-२७

अविद्यापाशवद्भानां नान्यो मोचक इष्यते ॥१४ उ०

(Līṅga Purāṇa, II. 9.)

The *jīva*-s or the individual souls are, therefore, called the *pāśu*-s as they are fettered by *pāśa*-s by God Śiva who is, therefore,

July, 1975]

called the '**Paśu-pati**' or the Lord of the *paśu-s* (i. e. souls of all the animate and inanimate creation) :—

तेषां पतित्वाद् देवेशः शिवः पशुपतिः स्मृतः ।

मलमायादिभिः पाशैः स बध्नाति पशून् पतिः ॥

(Śiva-Purāṇa, Vāy. Saṃhitā, II. 2.)

God *Paśupati* when worshipped by the *jīvas* with *bhakti-yoga* and *jñāna-yoga* releases them from their bondage of *Māyā* or *Avidyā* and hence He is called '*Paśu-pāśa-vimocaka*' :—

स एव मोचकस्तेषां भक्त्या सम्यगुपासितः ।

(ibid)

अनादिनिधनो धाता भगवान् विष्णुरव्ययः ।

मायापाशेन बध्नाति पशुवत् परमेश्वरः ॥१३॥

स एव मोचकस्तेषां ज्ञानयोगेन सेवितः ।

अविद्यापाशबद्धानां नान्यो मोचक इष्यते ॥१४॥

(Ling-P., II. 9.)

Hence in the 7th stanza of the *Paśupati-stotra* above we read 'पशुपाशविनाशिने'.

This philosophical conception of Śiva or Rudra as '*Paśupati*' permeates the *Paśupata* literature and may be said the main conception of '*Paśupati*' as held in the *pāśupata* philosophy of Śaivism. In the verse of the above *Paśupati-stotra* we read 'त्रात्रे च भक्तिनां नित्यं पशुपते नमोऽस्तु ते', where the epithet *Paśupati* seems to be used in the same *philosophical* sense as expounded above. But there is another conception of Śiva's epithet '*Paśupati*', which is mainly contained in the above *Paśupati-stotra*, and which may be termed as *mythological* conception of *Paśupati*, for which cf. *Varāha-Purāṇa*, Adhs. 214-216 and the *Himavat-khaṇḍa** of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, Adhs. 78-85.

According to this *mythological* conception of *Paśupati* God Śiva assumed the form of a deer having one horn, one foot and three eyes (cf. Śls. 6, 7 of the *stotra*). He then entered the herd of the deer of the *śleshmāntaka* forest, called also the *siddhāranya* (*Himavat-kh.*, 79.34). There he was received by the deer as their lord, hence we read in the *stotra*—

हराय हरिणेशाय हरिणाङ्गधृते नमः ।

मृगरूपाय मान्याय व्योमस्थाय नमोः नमः ॥

* The *Him.-Kh.* has been published by Yoga-Pracārīṇī-Gorakṣaṭhīllā, Varanasi, S.V. 2013.

The story how Śiva assumed the form of a deer whence he is called as 'हरिश्चेश' and 'पशुपति' (cf. पशुभिः क्रीडमानाय पशूनां पतये नमः *stotra*, śl. 7) is narrated in detail in the *Varāḥa Purāṇa* as well as in the *Himavat Khaṇḍa*. According to this story the sage Nandin performed severe penances on the Muñjavān peak of the Himālayas. Śiva was pleased and granted him divine boons and made him his chief Gaṇa. There-upon the gods became jealous of Nandin and feared that one day he would rule the heaven also. Śiva knew that the gods would come to him for boons and so God Śiva apprised Umā and Nandin of his plans and disappeared from there. Assuming the form of a deer he mixed with the herd of the deer of the Sleshmāntaka forest and thus became *Paśupati*. The gods with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Indra searched him everywhere but were unable to trace him. At last they saw Umā in the form of a beautiful girl of seven years on the south bank of the Vāgmatī river (in Nepal); the gods requested her to inform them the where-about of God Śiva, and she informed them that they might see God Śiva in the form of a deer in the herd of the deer in the regions situated on the western side of the Vāgmatī :—

वाग्मत्याः पश्चिमे देशे विस्तीर्णे मृदुशाद्वले ।

द्रक्ष्यसे तत्र तं घातो मृगरूपधरं हरम् ॥

(Him.-kh. 82, 18 f.)

There-upon the gods went there and found him in the form of one-horned deer among the herd of the deer in the Śleshmāntaka forest. The gods in their curiosity tried to catch the Deer (Śiva). Indra caught the top-portion of the horn, Brahmā the mid-portion and Viṣṇu the root portion of the horn. And then the horn broke into three parts—top, middle and root—which remained in the hands of Indra, Brahmā and Viṣṇu respectively. The body of the Deer God (हरिश्चेश्वर then disappeared in the sky, and the gods in their despair uttered the *stotra* quoted above.

On hearing this *Stotra* Śiva was pleased and satisfied and told them from the sky that they should be contented with the horn, and the parts of the horn should be established there for worship. Then Indra established the top portion in the heaven, Brahmā established the middle portion at the confluence of the Chandrabhāgā and the Vāgmatī rivers on the western bank of the Vāgmatī, which (the middle portion) was called the *Gokarṇeśvara*

which began to be worshipped by the sages, and the root portion was established in the Pātāla by Viṣṇu, and was called *Śrin-geśvara*. It was worshipped by Nāgas etc. When Rāvaṇa invaded the heaven he uprooted the top portion of the horn which had been established there by Indra, and brought it to the coast of the Southern sea and placed there near the mountain Trikūṭa where it was fixed and was known as the *Dakṣiṇa Gokarṇeśvara*. God Śiva, then, appeared in the capital of Nepāla in the form of a *tejas liṅga*. The capital was called the *Paśupati-purī*.

Thus according to this story God Śiva is called 'Paśupati' for he assumed the form of a *Paśu* (i. e. deer) in the Śleshmāntaka forest. This form of a deer was assumed by Śiva on the 14th *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, which is very dear to Śiva.

मार्गकृष्णचतुर्दश्यां मत्प्रियायां तिथौ मया ।
मृगरूपं धृतं तत्र पशुयोनिपरं विदुः ॥

(Him-Kh.. 83.135)

Śiva in the *Paśu* form sported with the herd of the deer and became their lord (पशुपति). Where-ever he went the deer also followed him and sported with him :

यत्र यत्र प्रयातं वै हरेण मृगरूपिणा ।
व्रजन्ति स्म मृगास्तस्य भूत्वा तेऽनुचरा मुदा ॥
कीडयन्ति स्म ते तत्र मृगयूथा इतस्ततः ।
कृत्वेति पतिरस्माकं पुरोधयाञ्जसा शिवम् ॥

(Him. Kh. 80-6-8)

Hence the *Stotra* says—

पशुरूपाय भव्याय पशुवाशविनाशिने ।
पशुभिः कीडमानाय पशूनां पतये नमः ॥ (Śt. 7)

—Anand Swarup Gupta

THE IDENTIFICATION OF LUDHIANA ON THE BASIS OF THE EPICS AND THE PURĀṆAS

By

O. P. Bharadwaj

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे 'लुधियाना' नगरस्य निर्वचनविषये विमर्शः कृतः । 'गजेटियर' निर्मातृभिः आङ्गलदेशीयैर्विद्वद्भिस्तदाधारेण च अन्यैराधुनिकविद्वद्भिश्च स्थापितं यत् लुधियानानगरस्य स्थापनं १४८० ई० वर्षे लोदीवंशीयैः शासकैः कृतम् । अत्र लेखकमहोदयेन विवेचितं यत् 'लुधियाना' शब्दस्य 'आना' पदं संस्कृतभाषाया निवासस्थान-वाचकस्य 'अयन' शब्दस्य अवशेषमात्रमस्ति । यथा उत्पलाना (उत्पलायन), भरताना (भरतायन) इत्यादि शब्देषु । मुस्लिम-शासकैस्तु निवासस्थानवाचकशब्देषु प्रायेण 'आवाद' इत्यादीनि प्रत्ययानि संयोजितानि यथा औरंगावाद इत्यादि स्थानेषु । 'अयन' तु संस्कृत-पदमस्ति ; मुस्लिमशासकैस्तु प्रायेण परिसियनभाषाया एव शब्दाः संयोजिताः । लेखकमहोदयेन स्थापितं यत् 'लुधियाना' शब्दः संस्कृत-भाषाया 'ऐलधान' शब्दस्यैव परिवर्तितं रूपम् । वाल्मीकीये रामायणे तु भरतेन मातुलस्थानाद् अयोध्यां प्रति प्रयातेन नद्याः संस्तरणस्योल्लेखोऽस्ति । ऐलस्तु इलापुत्रस्य पुरुरवसः नाम विख्यातम् । पुरुरवसः उर्वश्याश्चाख्यानं पुराणेतिहासेषु सुप्रसिद्धमस्ति । लेखकमहोदयस्य विवेचनानुसारतः ऐलधानं पुरुरवसः राजधानी आसीत् । अस्मिन् विषये विदुषा लेखकेन प्रयागसमीपे पुराणेतिहासेषु प्रथितायाः ऐलराजधान्याः प्रतिष्ठान-नगर्याः प्रामाण्यविषयेऽपि शंका कृता । ऊहितञ्च यत् पञ्चाद्वर्तिभिः पुराणकारैः प्रतिष्ठाने ऐलस्य राजधानी प्राचीनतथ्यानां विस्मरणात् निरूपिता । वस्तुतस्तु वैदिकसमये प्रथिते पञ्चनदप्रदेशे स्थिते ऐलधान-नाम्ना प्रसिद्धे आधुनिके लुधियाना नगरे एव ऐलस्य राजधानी आसीत् इति च प्रतिपादितमत्र ।]

Fallacies, once born, die hard. While in everyday life they lead to embarrassing situations, in history they give birth to wrong postulates and often block the correct line of research. This could not be illustrated better than with the identification of the city of Ludhiana¹, in the Punjab, with the Lodies.²

1. 30° 56'N and 75° 52' E. on the Grand Trunk Road.
2. The identification with Bahudhānyaka (Moti Chandra, Sārthavāha, Patna, 1953. p. 16) is too widely off the mark to deserve serious notice.

The idea originated with the gazetteers³, first prepared by the British, and has since been accepted by the writers of regional history⁴ and adopted by reference works like the Encyclopaedia Britannica⁵ which repeats that "the town of Ludhiana was founded in 1480 by two of the Lodi race (then ruling at Delhi) from whom it derives its name." The apparent phonetic similarity easily suggested the deceptive equation of Ludhiana with Lodiana. It looked too natural to require an examination in the light of cogent historical evidence. As a matter of fact there is none whatsoever to support it.

Although the Lodi Sultans probably loosely controlled this region between A.D. 1480 and 1620 and Jalal Khan, grandson of Nihang Khan, might have built a large fort at the site of the present old fort of Ludhiana with the bricks obtained from the prehistoric remains of Sunet⁶ there is no evidence to warrant the suggestion that the town itself was founded by the Lodi chiefs Yusuf Khan and Nihang Khan. There is enough, on the contrary, to demolish it.

In the first place the derivation of Ludhiana from Lodi will have to stand on the formation of the name with ānā which has its origin in the name-ending *Ayana* used in Sanskrit place-names. It has no parallel in Arabic or Persian. Nor am I aware of any Urdu place-names having this ending. The suffix most favourite

3. Ludhiana District Gazetteer. Lahore, 1904 pp. 15-16. relies on a local history of one Bute Shah which ascribes the renaming of the old village of Mir Hotaa as Ludhiana to Nihang Khan, a Chief of Sikandar Shah Lodi (1489-1527 A.D.). The Gazetteer calls this source "generally very reliable" but "without vouching for its accuracy" proceeds to demonstrate the absurdity of its account by stating that the earliest mention of the Town appears to occur under the year 1420 when Tughan Rais, in rebellion against Khizar Khan Sayyad (1414-1421 A.D.) retreated across the Sutlej by the town of Ludhiana. Also see Imperial Gazetteer of India, Oxford 1908, Vol. XVI pp. 207-8.
4. Cf. B.S. Nijjar, Punjab under the Sultans, Delhi 1968 p. 196. Also the revised edition of the Ludhiana District Gazetteer, Ed. V.S. Suri, Chandigarh, 1970 p. 1.
5. Ed. 1962. Vol. XIV, p. 471.
6. Ludhiana District Gazetteer, Lahore Ed. p. 15.

with the Moslems was Ābād as the names like Allahabad, Hyderabad, Islamabad, Ahmadabad, Sekundarabad, Moradabad, Mustafabad, Faizabad, Tughlakabad, Akbarabad, Shahjahanabad and Aurangabad would show. The reason is simple. It was from Persian. They did adopt name-endings of Sanskrit origin also but only those which were common in the mediaeval times e.g. Pura, Garh or, to a lesser extent, Nagara. Names like Alamgirpur, Nasirpur, Sultanpur, Abdullapur, Ismailpur, Ahmadgarh, Najafgarh, Ashrafgarh, Zafargarh, Aligarh, Muzaffarnagar and Ahmednagar are cases in point.⁷

The endings ānā, from sanskrit *Ayana* (place of refuge), and ālā from Sanskrit *Ālaya* (house, dwelling), are conspicuously absent from the place-names of the Mohammedan period. They are, as far as I can see, restricted to place-names coming down from early Hindu period and survive in names like Kalsana (*Kalasyāyana*), Uplana (*Utpalāyana*), Julana (*Jaulāyana*), Bharatana (*Bharatāyana*), Ambala (*Ambālaya*), Barnala (*Varuṇālaya*) and Karnal (*Karṇālaya*) etc.⁸ The ending ānā is not of Moslem origin and the Lodis could not have adopted Sanskrit *Ayana* for naming a place after them. The equation of Ludhiana with Lodiana is therefore unwarranted and must be rejected as a counsel of despair.

For the origin of the name Ludhiana we have to look elsewhere, and luckily for us, not very far. It is indeed surprising that it should have remained unidentified with its real form so long in face of so apparent a reference as is available in this case. Actually the ending in Ludhiana is not *Ayana* at all. The name, originally, was *Ailadhāna-a Tatpuruṣa* compound formation-*Ailasya dhānaṃ*. *Aila* is obviously for *Purūravā*, son of *Ilā* by *Budha*, and grandson of *Manu-Vaivasvata*.⁹ *Dhāna* (m.f.n.)

7. The words Pura, Nagara and Durga were, earlier, used for capital. For a detailed discussion in the light of evidence from Pāṇini, Kauṭilya, Patañjali and Manu see K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Fourth Ed Bangalore 1967. pp. 230 & 237-8.
8. All these place-names are from Haryana and Punjab. For *Jaulayana* see Pāṇini IV 2.54 & V.S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 501.
9. cf. P. L. Bhargava, *India in the Vedic Age*, Lucknow 1956, pp 35-6.

is derived from the root $\sqrt{\text{dhā}}$ to put, set, lay in or on, and means a receptacle, seat or case as in Agnidhāna, Rajjudhāna, Kṣuradhāna etc. and the site of a habitation as in Rājadhānī.¹⁰ Here it undoubtedly means 'the seat, city or capital of King Purūravā.¹¹ This is by no means a solitary instance of the use of Dhāna in this sense. There are others like Aṃśudhāna,¹² Vāṭadhāna,¹³

10. Monier Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary p. 514.
11. Monier Williams, op. cit., p. 234, accepts it as a place-name so do commentaries on the Rāmāyaṇa. cf. Tilaka ऐलधाने तदाख्यग्रामे...Śiromaṇi, ऐलधानाभिधनगरे...1; Bhūṣaṇā, ऐलधानाख्ये नगरे नदीं पूर्वीक्षां शतद्रुं तीर्त्वा.....1 Vide the Gujarati Ed. Bombay p. 811 on ii, 71,3.
12. Rām. ii, 71.9 Gujarati Ed. where the commentaries Tilaka, Śiromaṇi & Bhūṣaṇā explain it as the name of a village. Monier Williams, op. cit. p. 1. also accepts it as the name of a village. King Aṃśumat had succeeded Sagara after his father Asamañjasa was discarded for cruelty to citizens; (P. L. Bhargava op. cit. pp. 141-2) Aṃśumat recovered the Aśvamedha horse of his grandfather Sagara from the hermitage of sage Kapila in the vicinity of the Gaṅgā for whose appearance he died practising penance. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Gita Press Ed. ix, 8, 28-29 and 9, 1.

इत्थं गीतानुभावस्तं भगवान् कपिलो मुनिः ।
 अंशुमन्तमुवाचेदमनुगृह्य धिया नृप ॥
 अश्वोऽयं नीयतां वत्स पितामहपशुस्तव ।
 इमे च पितरो दग्धा गङ्गाम्भोर्हन्ति नेतरत् ॥
 अंशुमांश्च तपस्तेपे गङ्गानयनकाम्यया ।
 कालं महान्तं नाशकनोत् ततः कालेन संस्थितः ॥

Aṃśumat had his kingdom in the region of the Gaṅgā and evidently founded and made the new town on its bank, his capital. The name Aṃśudhāna is therefore of particular interest.

13. Taken by Monier Williams (op. cit. p. 939) as the name of a people and their country. Mentioned in Mahābhārata (Gita Press Ed.) Udyoga, 19, 31, Bhīṣma 9, 47 and Droṇa 11, 17 etc; Vāmanapurāṇa (Kashiraj Trust, Benares, 1967) 13, 37, with the Vāhlikas, Abhīras Kālatoyakas Brhatsamhitā XIV, 26 mentions its people among people of the north-cf. J. F. Fleet, Indian Antiquary XXII, 1893 p. 193, Topographical lists of the Brhatsamhitā. It was connected with and located continuously to Vāhlikas, Madras and Sauvīras. cf. B. C. Law, Countries and Peoples of India from Epic and

Śavadhāna,¹⁴ Śaradhāna,¹⁵ Dāśadhāna and Kaṇṭhadhāna.¹⁶

Nor would the philological transition of Ailadhāna to Ludhiana look unnatural or even unusual. It involves virtually the dropping of only one syllable 'ai'¹⁷. But of course the consonant 'dha' should also normally change to 'ha'¹⁸ which would give us the form 'Lahāna' almost exactly as it has been spelled by the noted Moslem historian Mohammed Abul Qasim Firishta, a contemporary of Akbar.¹⁹ It is very pertinent to note that Firishta gives the name of the city as Lohana²⁰ and not as Ludhiana or Lodiana which would most certainly have been the case if the city had been known, in his time, to have originated with the Lodis. The transformation of Lahāna or Lohana to Ludhiana is, therefore, a recent phenomenon, apparently facilitated by the misconceived adoption, by the British gazetteer-compilers, of a connection between the city and the Lodis. Nevertheless for a firm identification of Ludhiana with Ailadhāna we must see if it fits in the geographical perspective of Ailadhāna.

Purāṇic sources, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute XVII, 1935-36. p. 231. Rightly identified with the present town of Bhatinda by V. S. Agrawal. See Vijayendra Kumar Mathur *Sthānāvalī*, Government of India, 1969, p. 839.

14. Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa 57, 36 mentions its people among people of the north with the Vāṭadhānas, Śivīḍas Dāserakas etc. cf. B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, Poona 1943. p. 428. Not yet identified.
15. Mentioned in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* xiv, 26. as a people in the northern division-Fleet op. cit. Not identified.
16. The last two are from the *Parāśarasamhitā*. Vide Bhagavaddatta, *Bhāratavarṣa Kā Bṛhat Itihāsa* Vol. II. p. 160. Not identified. Bhagavaddatta suspects the origin of Ludhiana in some name ending with Dhāna but fails to trace it to Ailadhāna.
17. For dropping of vowels see A. C. Woolner, *Introduction to Prakrit*, Lahore; 1939. p. 30, rule 74.
18. *Ibid.* p. 13; rule 13.
19. cf. Sri Ram Sharma, *A Bibliography of Mughal India*, Bombay N. D. p. 38.
20. cf. Kishori Saran Lal, *Twilight of the Sultanate*, Bombay; 1963 p. 81, n. 77.

Ailadhāna has been described in Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa as a town on the Sutlej²¹ and its location so strikingly matches with that of modern Ludhiana that it is surprising that scholars who undertook a study of ancient Indian geography²² or a specialised study of the Rāmāyaṇa itself²³ should have failed to take note of it. Vālmiki's geographical knowledge of this region finds expression in two passages of the Rāmāyaṇa. The first of these²⁴ describes the northward journey of the messengers going from Ayodhyā to Kekaya to fetch Bharata. The second,²⁵ which is directly relevant to our purpose, gives the route taken by Bharata from Kekaya to Ayodhyā as follows :—

स प्राङ्मुखो राजगृहादभिनिर्याय वीर्यवान् ।
 ततः सुदामां द्युतिमान् संतीर्यावेक्ष्य तां नदीम् ॥
 ह्लादिनीं दूरपारां च प्रत्यक्स्रोतस्तरङ्गिणीम् ।
 शतद्रूमतरच्छ्रीमान्नदीमिक्ष्वाकुनन्दनः ॥२
 ऐलधाने नदीं तीर्त्वा प्राप्य चापरपर्वतान् ।
 शिलामाकुर्वतीं तीर्त्वा आग्नेयं शल्यकर्षणम् ॥३
 सत्यसन्धः शुचिर्भूत्वा प्रेक्षमाणः शिलावहाम् ।
 अभ्यगात् स महाशैलान् वनं चैत्ररथं प्रति ॥४

21. Location near a river was a peculiar feature of towns with 'Dhāna' name-ending as is clear from Ailadhāna and Vāṭadhāna on the Sutlej and Aṃśudhāna on the Gaṅga. The Sutlej once flowed near Bhatinda cf. M. L. Bhargava. The geography of Rgvedic India, Lucknow, 1964, p. 106. There is also a village named Karadhāna on river Tangri near Ambala Cantonment. Vāmanapurāṇa mentions a people named Vāridhānas undoubtedly connected with the place of this name. They are mentioned after the Śūrpārakas from Sopara not far from Bombay. Vāridhāna too, obviously refers to some place on a river or near the sea, not yet identified. cf. D.C. Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Ancient & Mediaeval India; Delhi, 1960. p. 31.
22. Nando Lal Dey, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India, London 1927; Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, Calcutta, 1924; Anundoram Barua, Ancient Geography of India, Gauhati, Reprint 1971; B.C. Law, Historical Geography of Ancient India, Paris, 1954. etc.
23. S.N. Vyas, India in the Rāmāyaṇa Age, Delhi, 1967.
24. Venkateshvar Press, Bombay Ed. ii, 68, 12-21.
25. Ibid ii, 71, 1-8.

सरस्वतीं च गङ्गां च युग्मेन प्रतिपद्य च ।
 उत्तरान् वीरमत्स्यानां भारुण्डं प्राविशद् वनम् ॥५॥
 वेगिनीं च कुलिङ्गाख्यां ह्यादिनीं पर्वतावृताम् ।
 यमुनां प्राप्य संतीर्णो बलमाश्वासयत् तदा ॥६॥

 भागीरथीं दुष्प्रतरां सोऽशुधाने महानदीम् ।
 उपायाद् राघवस्तूर्णं प्राग्वटे विध्रुते पुरे ॥९॥

It is not proposed to deal with the whole of this passage here. Only those portions will be examined which are strictly relevant for our purpose.

Starting eastward from Rājagrha, the capital of Kekayas²⁶, Bharata crossed the Sutlej at the point of Ailadhāna and reaching the (Shiwalik) foothills he forded another river and headed for higher mountains in the direction of the Caitraratha forest.²⁷ Crossing the Sarasvatī and the Gaṅgā together²⁸ he entered the Bhāruṇḍa forest to the north of the brave Matsyas and forded the fast-flowing and noisy Yamunā, surrounded by hills. Then he rested his soldiers.

Barua²⁹ has considered the passage and read in it all the Punjab rivers barring the Bias. He takes Hrādīnī or 'noisy' for Jhelum, Dūrapārā or 'broad-channelled' for Chenab and Tiryakṣrotaḥ³⁰ or 'tortuously flowing' for the Ravi. Śatadru or Sutlej is,

26. Placed between the rivers Sindh and Jhelum (Vedic Index Vol. I pp. 185-6; V. S. Agrawal, India as known to Pāṇini, p. 51; Barua op. cit. pp. 23-4; H. C. Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, 4th ed. pp. 36-7) or the Bias and the Sutlej (Dey, op. cit. p. 98). In either case it was beyond the Sutlej. Bṛhatsambhitā mentions it among people in the northern division. Fleet, op. cit. p. 179.

27. According to *Harivaṃśa purāṇa*, Gita Press Ed. 26, 6. it was near the Gaṅgā and Purūravā stayed here with Urvaśī :

वने चैत्ररथे रम्ये तथा मन्दाकिनीतटे ।

अलकायां विशालायां नन्दने च वनोत्तमे ॥

28. He could not have crossed the Sarasvatī and the Gaṅgā together. The text is faulty unless, of course, Gaṅgā here refers to some small tributary of the Sarasvatī.

29. op. cit. p. 22 ff.

30. Barua accepts Tiryakṣrotaḥ in place of Pratyakṣrotaḥ which means 'flowing westward' and is obviously an adjective applicable to several North Indian rivers.

of course, specifically mentioned. Barua's reasoning is that the rivers Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi, left unnoticed in the first passage were enumerated by Vālmiki in the second. This would be his justification for the absence of Bias here. The argument is fallacious. Firstly, Gaṅgā has been mentioned in both the passages.³¹ Secondly, which is more important, the words Hrādinī, Dūrapārā and Tiryakṣrotaḥ have nowhere else in literature been used as names of the rivers Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi respectively. As a matter of fact the expressions Hrādinī, Dūrapārā and Tiryakṣrotaḥ are pure and simple adjectives which could be used to qualify any big river.³² In this case it happens to be the Sutlej.

Bharata crossed the noisy, broad-channelled and tortuous Sutlej at Ailadhāna. That this spot was in the plains is clear from the fact that he is said to have headed towards the foothills³³ from here. The ancient trunk-route from east to northwest, however, adhered to the Himalayan foothills as closely as possible for easy fording of the rivers before they gained in volume and developed extensive flood-plains.³⁴ Bharata also did so in case of the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā. Then why did he make an exception in case of Sutlej? For the simple reason that he found it Sudāmā or easily fordable³⁵, as the second line of the first verse says. The only logical literal rendering of the relevant portion, therefore, would be as follows :

"Then finding the noisy, broad-channelled and tortuous Sutlej easily fordable the illustrious scion of Ikṣvāku crossed it at Ailadhāna and reaching the foothills....."

31. ii, 68, 13 and ii, 71, 10.

32. See Monier Williams op. cit. pp. 1307 and 487. Tiryakṣrotaḥ is similar to Pratyakṣrotaḥ, p. 675. In verse 6 of the passage Hrādinī is again used to qualify the Yamunā.

33. For Aparā in the sense of 'lower or distant' see ibid p. 50.

34. cf. R.K. Mukerji, Hindu Civilisation, Vol. II, Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay Ed p. 314; T. W. Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, Calcutta Reprint 1950, p. 64; S.M. Ali, the Geography of the Purāṇas, Delhi 1966. p. 176.

35. From the root √दृग् to subdue, with the prefix सु added in the sense of 'easily'.

The crossing at Ailadhāna was indeed the only exception that Bharata³⁶ was able to make to the traditional trunk-route in his eastward march. He tried it again in attempting a crossing of the Gaṅgā at Aṃśudhāna but failed and had to make it upstream at Prāgvaṭa.³⁶ Bharata was undoubtedly risking these hazardous attempts in his anxiety to reach Ayodhyā as fast as possible.³⁷ The foothills reached by him from Ailadhāna must be those about the present town of Panjaur. From here onwards he stuck to the Himalayan piedmont belt and crossed the noisy and fast flowing Yamunā at a point where it was surrounded by mountains. The crossing was tiresome enough to necessitate a restful break in the journey.

The Sutlej is notorious for shifting its course from time to time and it has in earlier days flowed right by the side of this city. A small channel still exists close by and is called "Buḍḍhā Daryā" or the "old river".³⁸ Vālmiki's description of Ailadhāna therefore matches perfectly with the location of the modern city of Ludhiana. It is also in agreement with the information we gather about Purūravā Aila from traditional accounts.

Although as we have already seen, Ailadhāna would mean seat of Ilā's son, the Purāṇas mention Pratiṣṭhāna as his capital and wrongly locate it on the Gaṅgā near Prayāga.³⁹ This is not surprising since by the age of the Purāṇas Purūravā had already become, more or less, mythological personality. In fact the

36. Rām. ii, 71, 9-10. It is interesting to note that an identical situation was much later-in July, 1421-faced in case of Sutlej by Sikandar Tuhfa and Zirak Khan, chiefs of Mubarak Shah Sayyad when they had to ford it upstream at Ropar, finding it in spate at Ludhiana while in pursuit of Jasrat Khokhar cf. Kishori Saran Lal, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

37. Bharata's anxiety and departure in hot haste is evident from Rāmāyaṇa ii, 70, 24-25;

स दत्तं कैकयेन्द्रेण घनं तन्नाभ्यनन्दत ।

भरतः कैकयीपुत्रो गमनत्वरया तदा ।

बभूव ह्यस्य हृदये चिन्ता सुमहती तदा ।

त्वरया चापि दूतानां स्वप्नस्यापि च दर्शनात् ॥

38. cf. Ludhiana District Gazetteer, Lahore ed. pp. 2 & 12.

39. cf. Harivaṃśapurāṇa, 26.49 :

राज्यं स कारयाभास प्रयागे पृथिवीपतिः ।

उत्तरे जाह्नवीतीरे प्रतिष्ठाने महायशाः ॥

Purūravā-Urvaśī love-legend-the oldest Indo-European love story⁴⁰ had been overtaken by mythical elements even by the time of the R̥gveda where it has been given in the form of a dialogue between the two.⁴¹ This hoary antiquity easily explains the confusion in the mind of the Purāṇa-compilers. By then the centre of civilisation had shifted from the valley of the Sarasvatī to the basin of the Gaṅgā⁴² and the tendency to transplant name of the ancient personages and places to new pastures had taken its toll.

Purūravā was not a child of myth although myths came to be woven around his lustrous personality very early. That he must have lived in flesh and blood is clear from the fact that apart from the Purāṇas⁴³ & the Epics⁴⁴ he has been mentioned in the Saṃhitās⁴⁵ and the Brāhmaṇas.⁴⁶ He got his matronymic Aila from his mother Ilā and appears to have succeeded Manu's son Sudyumna who, probably being childless, adopted him as his son and lineal successor giving him the patronymic of Saudyumni.⁴⁷ His immediate successors were Āyu, Nahuṣa and then Yayāti, father of Yadu, Turvaṣu, Druhyu, Anu & Puru⁴⁸ who were the progenitors of the five R̥gvedic tribes named after them and often identified with the Pañcajanās of the R̥gveda.⁴⁹

All these personalities are associated with the region of the Sarasvatī in literature. Kurukṣetra was the field of activity of Purūravā himself. He discovered his lost beloved Urvaśī in the lotus lake Anyataḥplakṣā of Kurukṣetra,⁵⁰ later called Plakṣatīrtha

40. Jogiraj Basu, *India of the age of the Brāhmaṇas*, Calcutta, 1969. p. 278.

41. X. 95.

42. cf. S. B. Chaudhuri, *Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India*, Calcutta. 1955. p. 195.

43. P. L. Bhargava, op. cit. p. 35, n. 3.

44. Mbh. Ādi. 75; Śānti 72 & 73 etc; Rām. vii. 56.

45. R̥g. I, 31.4. and x, 95; Kāthaka Saṃhitā viii. 10.

46. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa xi. 5.1, & xiii. 5.4.12.

47. P. L. Bhargava op. cit. p. 37.

48. F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, Reprint, Delhi. 1972. p. 85 ff.

49. *Vedic Index Vol. II*. p. 467.

50. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Ed. A. Weber, Reprint, Leipzig 1924) xi.5.1.4.

...तिरोभूतां स आध्याजल्पन्कुक्षेत्रं समया चचारान्यतः प्लक्षेति विसवती तस्यै हाद्यन्तेन वव्राज तद्व ता अप्सरस आतयो भूत्वा परिपुष्कुरिरे.....

in the Purāṇas.⁵¹ The Mahābhārata mentions a tīrtha named after her in Kurukṣetra.⁵² The Ṛgveda speaks of Sarasvatī blessing the prayers of Nāhuṣa Yayāti with riches, ghee and milk.⁵³ This is repeated in the Mahābhārata.⁵⁴ The Mahābhārata also mentions a tīrtha at the bank of the Sarasvatī named Yāyāta after him.⁵⁵ If the term Pañcajanās of the Ṛgveda refers to the descendants of Yayāti's five sons then they were in the region of the Sarasvatī which helped them to grow.⁵⁶ In any case Purūravā's descendants Yayāti and the Purus are located in the Ṛgveda on the banks of the Sarasvatī⁵⁷ and Puru, it should be remembered was installed

51. Vāyu 91.31-32.

चचार पृथिवीं सर्वा मार्गमाण इतस्ततः ।

अथापश्यत्स तां राजा कुरुक्षेत्रे महाबलः ।

प्लक्षतीर्थे पुष्करिण्यां हेमवत्यां समाप्लुताम् ।

क्रीडन्ती मप्सरोभिश्च पञ्चभिः सह शोभनाम् ॥

Viṣṇu (Gita Press Ed.) iv, 6.62-63. relates the incident without naming the lake :

....तां चापश्यन् व्यपगताम्बर एवोन्मत्तरूपो बभ्राम । कुरुक्षेत्रे चाम्भोज-
सरस्यन्याभिः चतसृभिरप्सरोभिस्समवेतामुर्वशीं ददर्श ।

52. Vana, 84. 157 :

उर्वशीतीर्थमासाद्य ततः सोमाश्रमं बुधः ।

कुम्भकर्णाश्रमं गत्वा पूज्यते भुवि मानवः ॥

53. Rg. vii, 95.2 :

एका चेतत् सरस्वती नदीनां शुचिर्यती गिरिम्य आ समुद्रात् ।

रायश्चे तन्ती भुवनम्य भूरेर्धृतं पयो दुदुहे नाहुषाय ॥

54. Droṇa, 63.4 :

सरस्वती पुण्यतमा नदीनां तथा समुद्राः सरितः साद्रयश्च ।

ईजानाय पुण्यतमाय राज्ञे धृतं पयो दुदुहुनहुषाय ॥ and

Śalya 41.33 :

तत्र यज्ञे ययातेश्च महाराज सरस्वती ।

सपिः पयश्च सुलाव नाहुषस्य महात्मनः ॥

55. Śalya 41, 32..... । ययौ तीर्थं महाबाहुययातं पृथिवीपते ॥

56 vi, 61.12 :

त्रिषधस्था सप्तधातुः पञ्चजाता वर्धयन्ती ।

वाजे वाजे हव्या भूत् ॥

57. vii, 95.2 (n. 53. supra).

vii. 96.2 :

उभे यत् ते महिना शुभ्रं अन्धसी अधिक्षियन्ति पूरवः ।

सा नो बोध्यवित्री मरुत्सखा चोद् राधो मघोनाम् ॥

This is supported by the Mahābhārata which locates Yayāti in Kurukṣetra & the region of the Sarasvatī :

by Yayāti as his successor in the ancestral sovereignty.⁵⁸

For Purūravā's Pratiṣṭhāna, therefore, one must look somewhere in the vicinity of the Ṛgvedic Sarasvatī.⁵⁹ That however, deserves a more exhaustive discussion than could be undertaken here. It is, of course, not unsafe to conclude that Purūravā appears to have shifted his capital from Pratiṣṭhāna to Ailadhāna, which he founded on the bank of the Sutlej, probably for strategic reasons, and christened after his own matronymic.

While providing a valuable piece of evidence for settling the issue of Purūravā's historicity⁶⁰ once for all this identification of Ludhiana will also be helpful in defining the region where Manu Vaivasvata set up the first ever traditional royal dynasty of India.

It is hardly necessary to add that it invests the name and site of Ludhiana with the antiquity of the oldest pre-historic cities of India.

cf. Vana 129.3, 4 & 12 :

देशश्च नाहुषस्यायं यज्वनः पुण्यकर्मणः ॥

सार्वभौमस्य कौन्तेय ययातेरमितौजसः ।

स्पर्धमानस्य शक्रेण तस्येदं यज्ञवास्त्वह ॥

अत्रैव नाहुषो राजा राजन् क्रतुमिरिष्टवान् ।

ययातिर्बहुरत्नौघैर्यत्रेन्द्रो मुदमम्यगात् ॥

58. P.L. Bhargava, op. cit. p. 67.

59. cf. Jai Chandra Vidyalankar, *Bhāratīya Kṛṣṭi Kā Ka Kha*, Allahabad 1955. p. 49.

60. The authors of the Vedic Index (Vol. II. p. 3.) considered him "a mythical figure, pure and simple".

A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE BRAHMA- VAIVARTA PURĀṆA : ITS ANUKRAMANIKĀS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

By

Giorgio Bonazzoli

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणे उपलब्धानामनुक्रमणिकानां विवेचनं कृतम् । लेखकेन प्रदर्शितं यदनुक्रमणिकानां पुराणे निवेशनं साभिप्रायं वर्तते । पुराणेषु पुराणस्य प्रारम्भे अन्ते वा उभयत्र वा अनुक्रमणिका उपलभ्यन्ते । तत्तदनुक्रमणिकासु पुराणानां विषयनिर्देशेन सह अनुक्रमणिकाऽध्यायस्य पाठस्यापि माहात्म्यं दृश्यते । वस्तुतः अनुक्रमणिकानामाधारेण पुराणस्य विषयेन सह पुराणरचनाकालस्य, रचनास्थानस्य, वेदेन सह पुराणस्य संबन्धस्य पुराणनाम्नः सार्थकत्वस्य च ज्ञानं भवति । एतत् सर्वमस्मिन् निबन्धे ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणस्य अनुक्रमणिकानामाधारेण ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणस्य विषये प्रदर्शितम् । अनुक्रमणिकानामाधारेणात्र ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणस्य को भागः कदा निर्मितः कश्च भागः प्रक्षिप्तश्च इत्यादिविषया अप्यत्र प्रदर्शिताः । संक्षेपतो विदुषा लेखकेनात्र ब्रह्मवैवर्तपुराणे उपलब्धानां सर्वासामनुक्रमणिकानां साङ्गोपाङ्गं प्रामाणिकं च विवेचनं प्रस्तुतम् ।]

Introduction

In every book, ancient or modern, we meet with a table of contents, which gives us an idea of what we are going to read and from which we generally judge whether or not the topics dealt with will catch our interest. In ancient times such a table of contents was not added to the book for a simple reference to the topics or pages as it is now, but it formed instead a separate chapter, i. e. a unit of its own, as important as any other part of the book itself. In other words a table of contents was more a summary than a mere list of topics. For some Sanskrit works, such as Nītiśāstra, Dharmaśāstra, Epics etc....., such summary was an absolute necessity and a basic point without which no book was complete.

We find such summaries in the Purāṇas too, where they are not only meant to give an idea of what the Purāṇa is going to say, but also serve—at least in some cases—as an interpretation

of the topics to be dealt with in the course of the work and they should, therefore, be used as a key to understanding the spirit of the Purāṇa itself.

Moreover they sometimes constitute a kind of general introduction to the whole Purāṇa by giving hints to find its author, time and aims. The difficulties of determining even the century of a specific Paurāṇic work are well known but careful research on the concordances and discrepancies among the several summaries, and between them and the actual content of the Purāṇa, is very helpful in finding out the different strata or hands of the text and the influences originated from different cultural backgrounds.

Some of them, at last, are meant to serve a religious purpose, i. e. to be recited on religious occasions, like festivals, vratas, saṁskāras etc... This shows the particular importance of such summaries not only on a literary level but also in a religious field, to the point where their reading or listening can be considered in some cases a means of salvation :

एवं ज्ञात्वा पुराणस्य संक्षेपं कीर्त्तयेत् तु यः ।

सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तो ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥

Kūrma Purāṇa (2.44.119). (critical ed.)

‘He who knows and recites the summary of the Purāṇa is freed from all his sins and is highly esteemed in the Brahma-loka.’

For all these reasons we think that summaries are not to be under-valued. On the contrary, they should be given careful attention. We propose here some brief research on the tables of contents of Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa (BVP), which is indeed very rich in summaries, if compared with other Purāṇas and offers a chance to study all the purpose for which a list of contents is usually composed and is, therefore, worthy of particular attention.

Before starting our study we should apologize for going over—for clarity's sake—what is already well known, namely that these tables of contents are called ‘ANUKRAMANIKĀS.’ Sometimes they are at the beginning of a Purāṇa¹, in which

1. see: *Garuḍa*, 1.3; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 1.1.1-2; *Bhaviṣya*, 1.1; *Brahma Vaivarta* 1.1; *Vāmana*, 1.

case they can be called also 'Kṛtyasamuddeśa'; and sometimes they are at the end of the Purāṇa² in which case they can be called also 'Purāṇaviśaya.' The distinction of course is not strict and we sometimes find Purāṇaviśaya at the beginning too³. Moreover the Kṛtyasamuddeśa is, in some cases, mixed with a series of questions which, if taken as a separate unit, can be called 'Prārambhaprasna'⁴. However as we study the Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa these divisions are not necessary, because, in fact, both the Kṛtyasamuddeśa (1.1) and the Purāṇaviśaya (4.132) are called 'anukramaṇikā.' We leave therefore all distinctions and we speak only of 'anukramaṇikā,' even when referring to Prārambhaprasna, Kṛtyasamuddeśa or Purāṇaviśaya.

1: Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa's Anukramaṇikās : Preliminary Problems

The Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa, in its four khaṇḍas, namely Brahma, Prakṛti, Gaṇeśa, Kṛṣṇa-janma, contains a good deal of summaries, some very short, few rather long and of some significance. Such summaries differ from one another in structure, aim and importance. While some are only summaries of the contents (see 1.1; 4.1...), others go into minute detail (see : 2.1; 4.132). While some are in the form of a narration (2.1; 4.132), others have shape of a dialogue and while some are meant only as mere summaries, others are written also to be read during religious ceremonies. The anukramaṇikās in BVP, therefore, are not to be considered as homogeneous unit. They constitute, in fact, a small variagated world to be carefully studied.

This large number of summaries gives an indication of the great importance they have in the BVP. Indeed, as many as two chapters bear the name of 'anukramaṇikā'—namely 1.1 and 4.132—a fact which is perhaps unique in the whole of Paurāṇic literature. The author himself, when beginning a long summary, e.g. 1.1; 4.132; 2.1, takes care to point it out, giving us the impression that what he is going to write has a particular significance for him. As a matter of fact in two cases—1.1.67 and 4.132.3—he says

2. see : Agni, 383; BVP, 4.132; Bhāgavata, 12.12; Matsya, 290-291; Varāha, 218 etc.....

3. see e. g. Vāmana.

4. What we have given here is the division and terminology found in Yashpal Taṇḍon's *Purāṇa-viśaya-samanukramaṇikā*, Hoshiarpur, 1952.

openly that he who hears the chapter of the anukramaṇikā benefits as much as from hearing the whole Purāṇa.⁵

We have already said that the anukramaṇikās are one of the basic points for composing a Sanskrit work, according to the śāstras, but in fact in all Purāṇas such summaries are not present and, even when they are, they rarely have as much importance as in BVP⁶. In fact, they derive their importance from being not only a mere summary of the contents but also a general introduction to the whole Purāṇa, so that by reading them one is stimulated to face the basic questions about the author, aims and use of the Purāṇa itself, as we will see during our study.

Structure and Authorship of the Longest Anukramaṇikās

a.—The first two tables of contents are in 1.1. This chapter is a general introduction to the whole Purāṇa, therefore it contains, firstly, an invocation to the deity⁷ and, secondly, the introduction of the main characters of the Purāṇa, Sauti and Śaunaka. As in almost all the Purāṇas Sauti arrives at Naimiṣa forest and is asked by Śaunaka, the great knower of the Purāṇas ('purāṇavit') to tell the wonderful story of the BVP. The two anukramaṇikās of 1.1 are merely the questions and answers to the opening dialogue between the two great ṛṣis.⁸

It is commonly accepted that Paurāṇic texts underwent several revisions in the course of the centuries and BVP is not an

5. 1.1.67 : पुराणकात्स्न्यश्रवणे यत्फलं लभते नरः ।

तत्फलं लभते नूनमध्यायश्रवणेन च ॥

4,132.3 : अध्यायश्रवणेनैव पुराणफलमालभेत् ॥

6. As a matter of fact also in some Purāṇas the anukramaṇikās have an important role : see e.g. Padma Purāṇa and Mahābhārata; but except Padma Purāṇa none of them gives so much importance to the summaries as the BVP.
7. The invocation, which in the Poona edition, Ānandīśramasaṁskṛta-granthāvaliḥ No. 102, contains 5 ślokas with a special numbering, can be divided into three parts: śl. 1-4/ 5, a-b/ 5, i-j (= 1, a-b) in each of which style and terminology differ from one another.
8. Strangely enough, what Śaunaka asks is already an anukramaṇikā and even more detailed than Sauti's answer. Śaunaka seems to know already what he wants to hear from Sauti. See the implications in pag. 140.

exception.⁹ As a matter of fact the two *anukramaṇikās* we are studying—i.e. Śaunaka's question and Sauti's answer—seem to bear traces of at least three different authors.

One author considers the first two books, namely *Brahma-khaṇḍa* and *Prakṛtikhaṇḍa*, as one unit and is concerned with the philosophical aspects of Brahman and Prakṛti. The two *khaṇḍas* do not really form two different units in our *Purāṇa*. Prakṛti, the topic of the second *khaṇḍa*, is already introduced in 1.30 and at the beginning of *Prakṛtikhaṇḍa* there is no benedictive verse as we find at the beginning of the other three books. So it seems there was a stage when the two books formed a unit of their own and stress was placed on a philosophical quest on Brahman in all its aspects. In fact, although the usual attitude of BVP is devotional, still the first part of 1.28 deals with the nature of Brahman in a very abstract way and the second part contains a polemic by Kṛṣṇa-devotees against those who consider Brahman only from a philosophical point of view, without understanding, it is said, that an abstract Brahman cannot be conceived without a visible deity somehow supporting it, as its container, i. e. without Kṛṣṇa. From this small polemic we can conclude that the first part of this chapter is older than the second one, perhaps belonging to the stage when Brahman was still the most important subject of the *Purāṇa* itself and that the Bhakta reformers have imposed their own beliefs on it. So in the first two books we can trace the stream of a *Purāṇa* more philosophical than the present one and where *Brahmakhaṇḍa* and *Prakṛtikhaṇḍa* formed a unit.¹⁰

9. See Ānand Swarūp Gupta : *The apocryphal character of the extant Brahmaparivarta Purāṇa* in : *Purāṇa*, III, 1 (Jan., 1961), pagg. 92-101; Anantaray J. Rawal : *Some problems regarding the Brahmaparivarta Purāṇa*, in *Purāṇa*, XIV, 2 (July, 1972), pagg. 107-124.

10. This, of course, is one of the interpretations one can give. The chapter could also be understood as if it were written by a single author who, in the first part, poses the arguments of his opponents and in the second part gives his own opinion. We prefer the interpretation given in the body of the article, mainly because it is more in harmony with the *anukramaṇikās* at the beginning and some other passages where we have such polemics. Moreover in some places—e. g. 2.26.19 ff; 2.48.18—if two different opinions are to be introduced it is clearly stated. Why then is it not stated here? Is it not because, in fact, no two different opinions are given but only one which is superimposed on a previous text?

The second author, recognizable in the first two anukramaṇikās, is intent on revealing secrets (gūḍha, nigūḍha) hidden in, or unknown to, the Vedas (avedasya). The influence of this author is visible mainly in the second and third book : Prakṛti-khaṇḍa and Gaṇeśakhaṇḍa. Here, in fact, we meet with esoteric mantras, kavacas etc. said to be very mysterious and difficult to find in the Vedas, to be kept secret. Here the sacred story of Gaṇeśa, said to be unknown even to the Purāṇas¹¹ is revealed. Here goddesses and priests of the villages (grāmayājī-grāmadevī) in additions to the other deities and priest—are spoken of¹². This author seems representative of a non-Vedic stream but willing to be accepted by people who hold the Vedas in great consideration.¹³

Lastly, a third author seems to have reviewed the whole Purāṇa and given it the Kṛṣṇa-bhaktic flavour which is peculiar to it. His hand is visible in the whole work, as well as in the anukramaṇikās in question, and gives a strong unity to the Purāṇa.

Thus these first two summaries are already an image, on a small scale, of the entire Purāṇa, at least as far as the authorship is concerned.

b.—Another anukramaṇikā—the longest and the most ordered and detailed—is 4.132, where each khaṇḍa is dedicated a number of ślokas proportionate to its actual length in the Purāṇa. It is said to retell the whole Purāṇa (4.132.1) and its attention to detail and almost perfect correspondence to the real contents show that it was written when the BVP was already complete. It belongs moreover to a group of four chapter—4.130-133—which seem to form a unit of their own, somehow distinct from the rest of the Purāṇa. In fact the interlocutor of 1.1 Sauti is called here—and here only¹⁴—Sūta. Although the two names—Sauti and

11. So it is said in 3.1.8 'purāṇeṣu nigūḍham', which is in accord with 3.46.38 where it is specified that it was heard from Dharma.
12. For 'grāmayājī' see Manu 4.205; for 'grāmadevī' it seems we have to stick at the obvious meaning i. e. 'goddess of a village'. This makes us think that in BVP 'grāmayājī' means simply 'priest of a village'.
13. The relationship between our Purāṇa and the Vedas will be studied later; see pag. 133 ff.
14. In fact, in some other places too, he is called Sūta, but only irregularly, see e. g. 3.6.2; 3.19.3; 3.24.4 etc. We cannot exclude the possibility of ascribing all the passages where there is 'Sauti' to one author and the passages where there is 'Sūta' to another one.

Sūta—are sometimes interchangeable, this already seems to hint at two different authors. Moreover 4.131.1-6 constitute the real conclusion of the whole *Purāṇa*, but three other chapters are added, which do not fit completely with the others. So in 4.131.6, when the story of the whole *Purāṇa* has come to an end, a new question is raised about a subject of secondary importance—the creation of the Fire-god and gold—already narrated in 1.4.13 ff. although with some differences.¹⁵ In 4.133 a list of names for the transmission of the BVP (*Purāṇa sūtra*) is given, similar to the one in 1.1 but different in some points¹⁶. In the first one the author of BVP appears to be Sauti, who has received the *Purāṇa* from Vyāsa; in the second one the author is Sūta, who has received it directly from Nārada. In 4.132 at last we have an *anukramaṇikā* which is indeed a repetition of 1.1, but different from it. The aims and structure of the two chapters, in fact, differ. The first one is detailed and the other synthetic. An accurate *adhyāya sampravibhāga* 4.132, a general *kṛtyasamuddeśa* 1.1. The *anukramaṇikā* of the fourth *khaṇḍa* a narration, the summary of the first book a dialogue. The four chapters 4.130-133 form, therefore, a separate unit not necessary to the structure of the *Purāṇa* and where many things are a repetition of other chapters. So the *anukramaṇikā* of 4.132 was composed possibly by a different author than the one who wrote the other parts of the book and later added to the *Purāṇa*.

c.—The first chapter of the *Prakṛtikhaṇḍa* (2.1), too, has the shape and purpose of an *anukramaṇikā*¹⁷, although it does not

15. See, for example, the different account about the role of Varuṇa (water) in 1.4.15 ff and 4.131.8 ff.

16. In fact such lists, besides being different from those usually given in the other *Purāṇas*, show discrepancies among themselves :

1.1	4.133
Kṛṣṇa	Kṛṣṇa
Brahma	Brahma
Dharma	Dharma
Nārāyaṇa	Nārāyaṇa
Nārada	Nārada
Vyāsa	—
to me—Sauti	to me—Sūta

17. 2.2.1 says :

समासेन श्रुतं सर्वं देवीनां चरितं विभो ।
विबोधनार्थं बोधस्य व्यासतो वक्तुमर्हसि ॥

bear such name and is restricted to the contents of that khaṇḍa. Its structure is composite : it partakes of the nature of the dialogic anukramaṇikās at the beginning (1-5) and of the narrations later (6-67), it dwells upon long descriptions in some parts (like 14-80) and it passes very quickly over some others (like 81-138). But the descriptions given in this anukramaṇikā do not summarize what is said in the course of the book. They are, rather, a presentation of the topics or, better, of the goddesses to be spoken of later. Sometimes, as in the case of Durgā, the descriptions in the anukramaṇikā and the character of the Goddesses in the text do not coincide. As a matter of fact, the description of the anukramaṇikā seems to serve, as we shall see later, a particular purpose, different from summarizing only. Women and village-goddesses also appear here and there (as already in 1.30.10-20) and this contributes to give a particular flavour to the chapter, which perhaps is the most interesting among the anukramaṇikās.

This anukramaṇikā is full of details and is practically complete, i. e. it refers to all the topics of the khaṇḍa and therefore the few episodes like that of Suśīlā (2.42), which find no mention in it were almost surely added when it had already been composed.

The Kṛṣṇa-bhakti author, very strongly present everywhere in our Purāṇa, is almost absent in this khaṇḍa. 2.1-15 with its philosophical afflatus and the stress on Prakṛti related to Ātma (Brahman) seems to belong to a stage when Brahmakhaṇḍa and Prakṛtikhaṇḍa formed a unit, as hinted in the previous paragraph.

2 : Contents of the Anukramaṇikās

The three anukramaṇikās we have seen in the previous paragraph, besides the summary of the four khaṇḍas, as we would expect, also contain topics of some importance for the understanding of the whole Purāṇa such as the Māhātmyas, the aims and name of the Purāṇa and the relation with the Vedas and other Purāṇas. These topics deserve particular attention as they are an important key to the whole Purāṇa.

a.—*Māhātmyas* (1.1 and 4.132)

Māhātmya is the first topic we meet with as we start reading the summaries in the BVP. In chapters 1.1 and 4.132 the

Mahātmyas are found in : 1.1.6-9

„ 37
 „ 44-46
 „ 58-60
 „ 67
 4.132.3

If we consider how long Purāṇas usually linger over the Mahātmyas, or self praises¹⁸, we perhaps wonder over the fact that only the above 17 ślokas are dedicated to them in our chapters. However, a large part of 4.133 and several other passages all over the book are also dedicated to the Mahātmyas so that, in this respect, BVP is not different from the other Purāṇas, although it does not insist as much as they do. In the above quoted passages the BVP says of itself that it is :

- a great Purāṇa—the best of the Purāṇas—the essence of the Purāṇas (see : 1.1.8,58,60)
- almost unintelligible (durvijñeyam : 1.1.37)
- but auspicious, source of mind-purity for the sages and a kalpadruma for the Vaiṣṇava (see : 1.1.7,37,46)
- specially related to the Vedas and the other Purāṇas (see : 1.1.45,60)
- fit for every dharma (1.1.58) and giving profane and religious fruits like : bhakti to Hari (id. 9,45-46); jñāna—kāma—mokṣa—wealth and what is desired or hoped—welfare—happiness—wife, sons, nephews (see : id. 8,9,46,59).

BVP's boasting is not exaggerated. Indeed, it is all the more so since some points mentioned here, e.g. bhakti, kāma, mokṣa, special relation to the Vedas etc..., constitute the actual structure of the Purāṇa.

The Mahātmyas of the BVP and also some other chapters with different topics, like 1.28 and 2.2, seem to aim at facing a polemic against other Purāṇas and the Vedas, or better against

18. If a proof is needed it is enough to note that this topic is dealt with in all the Purāṇas and sometimes in different places—see Yashpal Taṇḍon, *op. cit.*

the followers of sects in Hinduism other than Viṣṇuism or trusting only the Vedic lore without realizing the richness hidden in other traditions. These Mahātmyas, indeed, spread everywhere, intent on winning people's sympathy by showing the advantages of reading even a small part of the Purāṇa (even half a śloka 4.133.51) seem to be a sign of a missionary spirit. In other words they preach devotion, promise freedom from bondage of sin and rebirth and attainment of the Goloka (the supreme bliss) to attract people to themselves and take their mind away from concentrating on the Vedas¹⁹, sacrifices and other religious practices (see : 4.133.44).

It is known that all the Purāṇas were modified in the course of ages to be kept up-to-date with modern times²⁰; and so when some new religious movements took shape, they were made adequate to the new circumstances and even used, as in the case of the BVP, to disseminate the new ideas and win new followers. This party spirit is one of the main reasons why the Mahātmya chapters have developed so much and why each Purāṇa claims to be the best. The BVP was written (or better re-written) possibly by a Vaiṣṇava—as already hinted at the previous paragraph—and was meant, it seems, to give some theoretical support to the cult of Kṛṣṇa²¹ and above all to increase the devotion to Hari in his devotees. Therefore the Hari-bhakti constitutes the basic topic of the whole Purāṇa.

b. Bhakti—the main aim in BVP.

BVP has been classified as rājasa, as though it were in praise of Brahmā or as sāvitṛa, as though it were in laud of Sūrya.²² But although in the BVP Brahmā is important and the name itself of the Purāṇa reminds such god or Brahman²³, still it can hardly be called rājasa. Its main purpose, in fact, is bhakti or better Hari-bhakti.

19. This is stressed at the point to affirm that Vedas contain mistakes. see : 1.1.45

20. This general statement, valid for every Purāṇa, has been applied to BVP too. see note 9, above.

21. see 1.28;2.2 where there are polemics against other tenets in order to support one's own.

22. For the whole matter see : Baladeva Upadhyāya : *Purāṇa Vimarśa*, Benares, 1965, pagg. 89-94.

23. see below pag. 136.

In 1.1.14 ff. Śaunaka, before anything else, asks Sauti for a Purāṇa, whence the devotion to Kṛṣṇa is taught : a devotion which should be immovable, perpetual, superior to anything else, increasing the knowledge, able to cut the root of *karma*, and the fetters of those immersed in the *samsāra*, giving happiness to the mind of the living and being like the rain of nectar on those plunged into the fire of *human existence*.

श्रीकृष्णे निश्चला भक्तिर्यतो भवति शाश्वती ।

तत्कथ्यतां महाभाग पुराणं ज्ञानवर्धनम् ॥14॥

गरीयसी या साक्षाच्च कर्ममूलनिकृन्तनी ।

संसारसंनिवद्धानां निगडच्छेदकर्तरी ॥15॥

भवदावाग्निदग्धानां पीयूषवृष्टिर्वर्षिणी ।

सुखदाऽनन्ददा सौते शश्वच्चेतसि जीविनाम् ॥16॥

The devotion is considered here in relation to the most important problems tackled in the Purāṇas, namely *samsāra*, human existence, *karma* and said to be the best (or only) means of overcoming whatever keeps us tied to this earth. In other words, devotion is introduced as the true way to *mokṣa*. *Bhakti* therefore is more important than *jñāna* and the three aims of life, namely, *kāma*, *artha*, *dharma*.

1.8.52-54 and 1.11.38 (which are no *anukramanikās* but help us understand the role of *bhakti* in our Purāṇa) consider devotion in relation to the *caste-system*. The problem is neither faced nor discussed in an explicit way but from these passages it is not difficult to conclude that, for the author, devotion is beyond the *caste-system*, although castes are not suppressed, of course.²⁴ To be a *brāhmaṇa*, it is said, is useless without devotion, and

24. The division into castes is always present from the beginning to the end : see e. g.

1.1.43 : 'Hari moves about on this earth in the form of a 'brāhmaṇa':

हरिर्ब्राह्मणरूपेण शश्वद्भ्रमति भूतले ॥

2.23.26 : 'Like a śūdra he should be excluded from all privileges :

स शूद्रवद्रहिष्कार्यः सर्वस्माद् द्विजकर्मणः ॥

(The whole śloka is a quotation from Manu 2.103)

4 128.23 : 'All four castes will adhere to the Vāma-mantra (or Rama-mantra)'.

वाममन्त्रोपासकाश्च चतुर्वर्णाश्च तत्परा ॥

conversely, a pig or a caṇḍāla devoted to Kṛṣṇa is the best of persons and goes to Goloka.²⁵

1.14.52-55 makes a further step. For the author of this passage bhakti is the *ultimate value*. A devotee, he says, will not even desire to be near or similar to God, he will not aim at Brahmahood, Indrahhood, immortality or mokṣa. He considers everything to be empty, as a water-bubble. He is only hankering after service at the feet of Kṛṣṇa.

स सर्वं मन्यते तुच्छं सालोक्यादिचतुष्टयम् ।
ब्रह्मत्वममरत्वं वा मोक्षं यत्तुच्छवत्सति ॥52॥
ऐश्वर्यं लोष्टतुल्यं च नश्वरं चैव मन्यते ।
इन्द्रत्वं च मनुत्वं च चिरजीवित्वमेव वा ॥53॥
जलबुद्बुद्बुद् बुद्ध्या चातितुच्छं न गम्यते ।
स्वप्ने जागरणे वापि शश्वत्सेवां च वाञ्छति ॥54॥
दास्यं विना न याचेत श्रीकृष्णस्य पदं परम् ।
तत्पादाब्जे दृढां भक्तिं लब्ध्वा पूर्णो निरन्तरम् ॥55॥

This very strong passage represents a stream of thought of some importance in our Purāṇa. Although other parts stress also the necessity of reaching mokṣa, immortality etc., still bhakti is the central theme of the BVP. It unifies all the aims of human life, it helps promote a universal brotherhood by lessening the importance of the castes and it becomes the supreme goal of every being, human and divine.

c.—Other Aims of the BVP

When Sauti arrives at the Naimiṣa forest, he is addressed by Śaunaka :

वयमेव कलौ भीता विशिष्टज्ञानवर्जिताः ।
मुमुक्षवो भवे मग्नास्तद्धेतुस्त्वमहगतः ॥
(1.1.12)

i. e. 'We are afraid in this Kali yuga because we are without true knowledge. Immersed into existence, we hanker after

25. अवैष्णवाद् द्विजाद्विप्र चण्डालो वैष्णवो वरः ॥ 1.11.38 ॥

कृष्णमन्त्रोपासकश्च ब्राह्मणो श्वपचोऽपि वा ।

ब्रह्मलोकं समुल्लङ्घ्य याति गोलोकमुत्तमम् ॥ 2.36.80 ॥

mokṣa. That is why you have come here'. This pessimistic view on human existence is traceable throughout the whole *Purāṇa*. Men are about to be drowned in the ocean of life and, after their death, hells (narakas) of any sort are waiting for them. Sins (pāpa) can be committed every moment, tying mortals to an endless chain of rebirths. Even gods can fall from their divinity through some malediction (śāpa) and be compelled to live on earth. Men are really immersed in a huge drama—on one side their human frailty, on the other the divine presence traceable in every situation, under every person. They are afraid and in need of some help from above. Therefore the BVP gives them the true devotion and the true knowledge (tattva-jñāna) and reveals the secrets (nigūḍham) which lead them to an appropriate svarga (heaven) and an endless life without rebirth. As a matter of fact, the revelation of the true knowledge, of the true bhakti, of secrets—to be kept secret in their turn (sugopya)—in order to free men from their fears, seems to be one of the main aims of the BVP. It is a revelation, however, which does not come spontaneously from above but should be solicited by men. Invariably at the end of every story or of every teaching we meet with a sentence like this : 'I have told you whatever you desired, now what do you want to hear again' ?

इत्येव कथितं सर्वम्... किं भूयः श्रोतुमिच्छसि ॥

So revelation in BVP is quite different from the one we meet in the Vedas. Here the ṛṣis see the words of God and speak them. In the BVP (as in all the *Purāṇas*) the words come from another person (Vyāsa or others) and are spoken only if some questioner urges them. So although Śaunaka asks Sauti to tell him even what he has not requested (prṣtam—apṛṣtam)²⁶, the stories in the *Purāṇa* are always an answer to somebody's question. The questioner's role is therefore very important. As a matter of fact, the BVP—as other *Purāṇas* too—seems to have been written to answer the problems of a particular part of humanity dissatisfied with the solutions given by previous religious movements.

We have seen that the main problems for men in the BVP are fear and frailty and that the true answer is devotion to Kṛṣṇa. Therefore any other aim of our *Purāṇa* is subordinate to it. If

26. see I.1.38.

we read 1.1 and 4.132-133 we meet with quite a large number of such aims which, for lucidity's sake, can be grouped into three topics : mokṣa, kāma, artha. Dharma which should be their normal complement has no importance practically, but in its place the God Dharma plays a big role.

Mokṣa : 'BVP is like the Ganges among rivers and Bhārat among nations, says the fourth khaṇḍa, i.e. it gives mokṣa (4.133.1,34) but only to those who desire it (mumukṣūnāṁ ca mokṣadam : 1.1.46). Mokṣa indeed is present as a substratum in the whole Purāṇa, but, as we have seen, it is not the aim of a Vaiṣṇava and its importance is secondary.²⁷ We are told, in fact, that besides giving mokṣa BVP also bestows 'punya', 'brahmahood' and 'Golokam.'²⁸ So discontinuity of rebirth is only one stage in a larger view of life, where bhakti and Goloka have the biggest role. This can be seen in 4.133.53-56, where we read that he 'who listens to the Brahmakhaṇḍa with devotion and gives dakṣiṇa, will be freed from sins (mucyate) committed during his childhood, youth and maturity, in ten millions of births, and having wielded the form of Kṛṣṇa, he will mount a car constructed with gems, will go to Goloka and give service to Kṛṣṇa for ever. He will never fall from that region in spite of the fall of countless Brahmās and through vicinity with the Lord he will become one of his attendants and remain for ever in his service (sevam)'.²⁹ So mokṣa for a Vaiṣṇava is no final goal but only the first and subordinate

27. So e.g. in 4.132.44 mokṣa is with birth, death, old age, obstacles :

जन्ममृत्युजराव्याधिहरं मोक्षकरं परम् ।

see also 4.132.85,88; 4.133.1,9 where mokṣa is introduced as an aim of the BVP but it is not much stressed, and our comments on 1.14.52-55 on pag. 129.

28. see 4.133.32, 34, 43, 55, 67, 68

29. 4. 133.53-56 :

संकल्पतो यः शृणोति भक्त्या दत्त्वा च दक्षिणाम् ।

यद्वात्ये यच्च कौमारे वार्धके यच्च यौवने ॥53॥

कोटिजन्मार्जितात्पापान्मुच्यते नात्र संशयः ।

रत्ननिर्माणयानेन धृत्वा श्रीकृष्णरूपकम् ॥54॥

नित्यं गत्वा च गोलोकं कृष्णदास्यं लभेद्भुवम् ।

असंख्यब्रह्मणां पाते न भवेत्तस्य पातनम् ॥55॥

समीपे पार्षदो भूत्वा सेवां च कुरुते चिरम् ।

श्रुत्वा च ब्रह्मखण्डं च सुस्नातः संयतः शुचिः ॥56॥

The words given in the text are not a literary translation, as in almost all the quotations of this article.

step to the Kṛṣṇa-sevā. This position of course reduces the importance of the trivarga (artha, kāma, dharma) in the traditional view of life and of the dharma in special way. This is perhaps one of the reasons why, in our Purāṇa, dharma has so little importance.

Artha-Kāma : Far more important than mokṣa in our anukramaṇikās is 'artha' or whatever can be connected with it, i.e. bliss, success, fame, happiness, wife, sons, freedom from bondage, fear, calamity, poverty etc...³⁰. In the course of the Purāṇa, however, artha is not so prevalent as one would think after having read 1.1 and 4.132-133. The happiest in the Purāṇa are those who attain Goloka, not the richest. Successful are those who do their duty (dharma), do tapasya and are Kṛṣṇa-devotees, not those who have accumulated more wealth.

'Kāma' on the other hand, does not occupy much space in the anukramaṇikās³¹, but in the course of the Purāṇa it is present everywhere, among men and among gods to the point that Kṛṣṇa, the supreme God, identified with Brahman, is said to be 'mahā-kāmi kāmādharaḥ' (2.2.30) and his loves with Rādhā and the Gopīs need only to be mentioned, so famous are they.

While we do not wonder over the fact the kāma is an important point in the BVP, because in any bhakta movement love is a common symbol utilized to signify the relationship between the deity and its devotees, we are instead amazed at seeing the importance artha has got in the anukramaṇikās, although later, in the course of the Purāṇa, no proportionate stress is given to it. This fact seems to denote that when the anukramaṇikās were composed people were more sensitive to riches than to devotion. The discrepancy between the main feature of the BVP, which is bhakti (or Kṛṣṇa-bhakti) as we have seen, and the stress on artha in our anukramaṇikās makes us think that 1.1 and 4.132-133—which emphasize the role of the artha—not only were written at another time than the rest of the Purāṇa, but that they were composed in a period of religious decline.

Other aims of the BVP are the mind purification of the munis (1.1.37) and destruction of the mistakes of the Vedas and other Purāṇas (1.1.45). These last two aims seem to reconfirm what

30. see : 1.1.8-9, 59; 4.133.34, 46-52 etc...

31. In the anukramaṇikās we have only 1.1.46 : 'kāminām kāmadaṁ cedam'.

we have just said, namely that the *anukramaṇikās* were written in a time when a religious renaissance was felt necessary and the classical authorities (the Vedas) were no longer considered infallible.

d. *Brahmaivaivarta Purāṇa and the Vedas*³²

To study the relation between the Vedas and the Purāṇas is not an easy task. In fact, going into detail in this matter would lead us to difficult problems. But the topic is very important and useful for understanding the position of the BVP (and the other Purāṇas) in Indian literature and culture.

'He who, restrained, listens on this earth to the BVP, says 4.133.45, will get a better fruit than from reading even the four Vedas.'

चतुर्णामपि वेदानां पाठादपि वरं फलम् ।

शृणोतीदं पुराणं च संयतश्चेह पुत्रक ॥

The reading of the Vedas had always been restricted to the *dvijas* only and even listening to them had always been subject to several rules. BVP in this śloka goes beyond all those restrictions and simply states that the fruits are the same both from drawing near to the Vedas and from listening to the Purāṇas. But if we read the first half of the śloka along with the previous one in the following way :

यज्ञानामपि तीर्थानां व्रतानां तपसां तथा ।

भुवः प्रदक्षिणस्यापि फलं नास्य समानकम् ॥44॥

चतुर्णामपि वेदानां पाठादपि वरं फलम् etc...

we have : 'the fruit even from sacrifices, pilgrimage places, vows, austerities, as also from the circumambulation of the earth and the excellent fruit from reading even the four Vedas is not equal to the fruit of this.' In this case the counterposition is not only with the Vedas, but also with other expressions of the Hindu dharma, and BVP becomes a substitute for everything. This would mean

32. We discuss here only the relationship between the Vedas and the BVP and not other Purāṇas for which some studies have already been conducted. See e.g. Baladeva Upadhyāya, *op. cit.*, pag. 214 ff, and a short appraisal of the books written on this matter in Rāṇade's : *Prastāvikaṁ kṛñcit* to BVP, vol. II in Ānandāśramasaṅskṛtagraṇthāvaliḥ No. 102. The different Vedic Śākhās available in the Purāṇas are studied by Ganga Sagar Rai in : Purāṇa : VI, 1 pagg. 97-112; VII, 1 pagg. 6-17; VII, 2 pagg. 235-253; VIII, 1, pagg. 115-134; XIV, 1 pagg. 58-69; XV, 1 pagg. 133-140.

that for the Paurāṇic author the Vedas are only a part of a bigger field and that the Purāṇas are not only 'revealed' (as the Vedas), but also a kind of casket where every religious-minded person can find whatever is needed for his salvation.

1.1.7 informs us that the Purāṇa, where we find the story of Kṛṣṇa, agrees with the śruti :

परं कृष्णकथोपेतं पुराणं श्रुतिसंमतम् ।

(see also 1.160)

The word 'śruti-sammatam'—sometimes modified into 'veda-sammitam', which implies equality with the Vedas—is repeated several times in the Purāṇa and is an attempt, possibly, to convince people to give as much importance to the BVP as to the Vedas and therefore not to be afraid to leave the reading of the Vedas. If we think that our Purāṇa was written by Brāhmaṇas and that the readers or the listeners were also brāhmaṇas (although others too were allowed to hear it) we realize that an encouragement to leave the Vedas presupposes that either nobody was reading them although keeping them in high consideration³³—or that the writers of the Purāṇa positively tried to remove people from the Vedic reading. We could say that in a time of religious crisis, or difficulty, the paurāṇic revival was based on a new understanding of the old traditions and therefore directed to convince people that the Purāṇa they were listening to was, in fact, not dissimilar to what they were supposed to know by tradition, namely the Vedas.³⁴

1.1.19 and 54 speak of something very ancient (atīvapūrva) hidden in the Vedas (gūḍham) and hardly found in the śruti (śruti-veda-sudurlabham) and therefore in need of a revelation (see 1.1.31). But, in the course of the Purāṇa, other passages contain statements and rules said to be derived from some particular Vedic Śākhās like Madhvāndina, Kāmva (Śuklayajurveda)

33. As a matter of fact, in the BVP there seem to be at least two different streams : one is always trying to find a support of its own statements in Vedas : see e.g. 1.16.14ff ; 1.24 ; 1.26 ; 1.27 ; 1.28 etc.... another stresses that the Vedas are limited and imperfect : e.g. 1.18.34 ; 1.19.63 ; 1.29.9-10 etc....

34. Many times, in fact, we find words like 'vedoktam' 'vedapraṇihitam' (see 1.24.6, 8). This seems to show that our Purāṇa includes and enlarges the Vedas and therefore it pretends to be for its readers the new Veda.

and Kauthuma (Sāmaveda). In its relationship with the Vedas, therefore, our Purāṇa seems to proceed on two different lines. On the one hand it conveys to its readers what is already available in the Vedas but for some reason no longer known to them (cfr. 1.28 and 1.29) and from this point of view it can be considered a Brāhmaṇic work intent upon renewing knowledge of, and faith in, the Vedas. On the other hand it claims—and sometimes very strongly—to complete the Vedas, by revealing something older than them or not available in them (see 1.29.9-10), perhaps because they are in the wake of another tradition. From this point of view, BVP seems to be, at least in some parts, an echo of a non Vedic stream, accepted and incorporated in the Purāṇas. It is difficult, at this stage of our research, to identify what in fact is not Vedic, all the more so because sometimes the word Veda or Śruti in our Purāṇa refers also to a different oral tradition than the actual written Vedic literature, as in 1.27.21 where it is said that Hari (who never appears in Vedic lore as referred to Kṛṣṇa) has given prohibitions in the Sāmaveda. The BVP's opinion on the Vedas is not only not of passive acceptance, but sometimes even of strong criticism.

So, besides claiming that it completes the Vedas or reminds one what is written in them, BVP states also that :

सारभूतं पुराणेषु ब्रह्मवैवर्तमुत्तमम् ॥1.1.44b॥

पुराणोपपुराणानां वेदानां भ्रमभञ्जनम् ॥45a॥

i. e. BVP, the best and supreme among the Purāṇas, dispels the mistakes of the other Purāṇas, Upapurāṇas and Vedas.

The claim of being better than the other Purāṇas can be considered a normal exaggeration of a Mahātmya. However the attitude towards the Vedas is quite amazing. Surely we are far from the respectful reverence common to sanskrit literature and traceable also in other passages of the BVP itself. To find mistakes in the Vedas and to claim to be able to dispel them is really unusual and almost blasphemous. This attitude, as we proceed in the Purāṇa, is no longer resumed, except in few cases and in a mild way (see 4.128). This makes us think that our passage has to be interpreted in a shading way, i. e. BVP, in fact, claims only to revive what has been forgotten and bring into the tradition something unknown to the Vedas. Perhaps

then the above mentioned BVP's claim is only a mahātmyanic exaggeration to mean a paurāṇic modernization of the ancient tradition.

In our study on the relationship between BVP and the Vedas we have considered our Purāṇa as a unit, composed by a single person, and tried to find a unitarian and logical attitude towards the Vedas. In fact, the various authors responsible for the composition of the BVP have also different attitudes towards the Vedas and therefore our effort should not be to unify but rather to classify and see, without aiming at finding a single logical system, the evolution, during the ages, of the relationship between old and new, traditional and modern, Vedic and not Vedic lore. But such research should be carried out very carefully and is beyond the limits of this short article.

e. *Brahmaivaivarta Purāṇa : The Name.*

The word 'Brahma' in Brahma-Vaivarta seems to refer to Brahman and not to Brahmā. In fact in the first book, called Brahma-khaṇḍa, the word can refer both to Brahmā, as one might infer from the importance such God has in this khāṇḍa, and to Brahman as one could deduce from, for example, 1.13.18—where Upavarhaṇa is said to reach Brahman (=samprāpa Brahma)—or 1.17.35—where Kṛṣṇa is described as 'paripūrnatamam Brahma.—or 1.28.1 ff.—where the nature of Brahman is presented. For the anukramaṇikās Brahmakhaṇḍa refers only to Brahman. So e. g. 1.1.17-18 :

यत्रादौ सर्वबीजं च परं ब्रह्मनिरूपणम् ।
तस्य सृष्ट्युन्मुखस्यापि सृष्टेरुत्कीर्तनं परम् ॥17॥
साकारं वा निराकारं परमात्मस्वरूपकम् ।
किमाकारं च तद्ब्रह्म तद्ध्यानं किं च भावनम् ॥18॥

“(Tell me the Purāṇa) where the supreme Brahman, root of every thing, and the creation and the progress of this creation is firstly described, (the Purāṇa which deals with the question) whether the Supreme being is corporeal or formless and (where it is said) what form it has and what meditation deserves this creator.”³⁵

35. The translation is by R. N. Sen, Allahabad, 1920.

M. Winternitz : *A history of Indian Literature*, Calcutta, 1963, Vol. I, part. II, page 498, note 2 understands Brahma-Vaivarta as referred to 'Brahman' but he thinks that it can be applied only to Brahma-khaṇḍa.

Moreover from 1.1.60-61a we know that the name 'Brahma-Vaivarta' refers to the topics of both the first khaṇḍa and the second :

विवृतं ब्रह्म कार्त्स्न्यं च कृष्णेन यत्र शौनक ।
ब्रह्मवैवर्तकं तेन प्रवदन्ति पुराविदः ॥

'The knowers of ancient things call this Purāṇa Brahma Vaivarta because in it Brahman (I Khaṇḍa) and the Universe (II khaṇḍa) are unfolded by Kṛṣṇa'³⁶. The actual structure of the Brahma and Prakṛti khaṇḍas, as we have in our present Purāṇa, forming one unit with the binomial Brahman-Prakṛti, is a further corroboration that in the word 'Brahma-Vaivarta' what is meant is Brahman and not Brahmā. We know, moreover, that in our Purāṇa there are different strata, the last of which is kṛṣṇa-bhakti, and in it Kṛṣṇa is identified with the Supreme Brahman. This hints at the fact that the previous strata were already dealing with Brahman. The praises to Kṛṣṇa substituted perhaps a philosophy on Brahman—as 1.28, one of the oldest chapters in the Purāṇa seems to suppose—and not the praises to Brahmā who was rarely venerated.³⁷ So the name 'Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa', which refers to the original book or first stratum, seems to signify Brahman and not Brahmā. Therefore, those classifications ranging our Purāṇa among the rājasa, because it deals with Brahmā, seem to be far from hitting the mark.

The meaning of Brahma-Vaivarta-Purāṇa, therefore, can be rendered as 'the Purāṇa of the manifested Brahman', a name which seems to be comprehensive of all the topics of the Purāṇa. The nirguṇa Brahman, in fact, becomes saguṇa through creation (I khaṇḍa), Prakṛti (II khaṇḍa), Kṛṣṇa in his human life (IV khaṇḍa) and even Gaṇeśa (III khaṇḍa). Notwithstanding the several additions through the ages, the frame and the general meaning of the BVP, as presupposed by its name, were maintained.³⁸

36. Of this important śloka there are different readings : see e. g. Baladeva Upadhyāya, *op. cit.*, pag. 153. We follow here the Ānanda-śrīramaśāṅkṛtagraṇthāvaliḥ No. 102.

37. See anyway : BVP 1.14.38 and Tarapada Bhattacharya : *The cult of Brahma*, Varanasi, 1969. (2nd ed.).

38. We should point out here that in Southern India our Purāṇa's name is Brahmakaivarta. See Winternitz, *loc. cit.*

The word 'Vaivarta', in its turn, reminds us of the advaita doctrine, 'Vivartavāda', according to which the world is an evolution from Brahman and is mere illusion. We have seen already 1.1.60b-61a, where such doctrine seems to be backed and we can also now read 4.133.30-32a :

सुदुर्लभं च ब्रह्मवैवर्तमीप्सितम् ।
 यद् वृणोत्येव विश्वौघं जीविनां परमात्मकम् ॥30॥
 तद्ब्रह्म साक्षिरूपं च कर्मणामेव कर्मिणाम् ।
 तद्ब्रह्म विवृतं यत्र..... ॥31॥
 तेनेदं ब्रह्मवैवर्तमित्येवं च विदुर्बुधाः ॥32a॥

i.e. 'This is the desired BVP, difficult to be secured. The sages know it as Brahma Vaivarta because in it Brahman, which as Supreme Spirit surrounds the universe of the living beings and is witness of acts and their doers, is presented along with the utmost expansion of such unfolded Brahman' (Translation by R. N. Sen). But besides these ślokas which are on the line of the Vivartavāda doctrine, there is almost nothing³⁹ in our present BVP in support of that doctrine. As a matter of fact no single philosophical system is followed in our Purāṇa and anyway the relationship between Brahman and Prakṛti is not of an advaitic kind, but more on the line of the Śāṅkhya cosmology. Nature (called with different names : Prakṛti, Durgā Rādhā etc.) is as important as Brahman (see : 1.28.1 ff.), is at one with it (see : 2.11.110 ff) and in it she merges at the end of the kalpa (see : 2.54.71-100). Nature is to Brahman as Rādhā is to Kṛṣṇa, and Rādhā is described as being half of Kṛṣṇa's body and his śakti; separated from, and sometimes even in disharmony with, him and yet dipped in his heart. When all things will be absorbed in Kṛṣṇa she also will be somehow melted into him but without losing her being (see : 2.54.80). So the philosophy of the BVP, although devoted to the same problems does not follow the same system as the Vivartavāda. In fact through a bhaktic terminology, our Purāṇa, in its own way, tries to express a high religious and philosophical insight common to other philosophical streams, namely the unity and distinction between God and the world. The approach is more on a mystical than a philosophical level, yet the insight is deep and permeates the whole philosophy of the Purāṇa.

39. In fact there are vague hints here and there of such doctrine : see e.g. 1.28; 2.54; but this doctrine is by no means followed in the Purāṇa.

f. *Summaries of the Khaṇḍas*

Anukramaṇikās of the whole *Purāṇa* are found in 1.1.17-36; 1.1.47-57; 4.132.4-90, while summaries of single books are put at the beginning of each *khaṇḍa*, except the first, where there is no summary at all. Some of these anukramaṇikās, as already noted, seem to have been written by more than one author and it is no wonder, therefore, if they are different in structure and aims. They can be divided into two groups, those that are simply summary accounts and usually have the form of dialogue or questions, and those that give details and have the structure of a narrative. 4.132.4-90 and 2.1.4-160 belong to the second group, all the others to the first one.

1. Anukramaṇikās in form of dialogue

The dialogue belongs to the structure itself of the BVP. It is present everywhere and is the most important means to make the story proceed. The small dialogic anukramaṇikās at the beginning of the *khaṇḍas* therefore do not constitute any exception and they form part of the general structure of the *Purāṇa*. Let us examine, for instance, the structure of the *Prakṛtikhaṇḍa*, which, in this respect, gives a good picture of the whole *Purāṇa*. At the beginning of the *khaṇḍa*, Nārada, who is sitting in Nārāyaṇa's āśrama, asks his host some general questions about Nature, her features, parts, character, actions and forms of worship (2.1.2-3). Nārāyaṇa answers by giving first a definition of Nature (id. 4-13) and then a summary of the whole book. At the end of the summary he says: 'So I have told you everything about the wonderful actions of Nature and I have given you her character. Now, what more do you wish to hear?' (id. 165).⁴⁰ Nārada, satisfied with the summary given by Nārāyaṇa, requests him to explain everything in detail and starts questioning why Nature divided herself into parts at the beginning of creation. Nārāyaṇa answers in chapters 2 and 3, at the end of which again he concludes: 'So I have narrated to you the wonderful activity of Kṛṣṇa (Kṛṣṇa in fact is the real reason for the origin and splitting of Nature in BVP). Now what more do you wish to hear?'

40. एवं ते कथितं सर्वं प्रकृतेश्चरितं शुभम् ।

यथागमं लक्षणं च किं भूयः श्रोतुमिच्छसि ॥

(2.3.62). Nārada asks other questions to which Nārada gives answers and again requests his interrogator to ask new questions and so on. This procedure is rather poor from a stylistic point of view but enable the author, or the authors, to add topic after topic without difficulty and without altering the general structure of the Purāṇa. The most remarkable examples of such additions are 4.130-133, as previously pointed out; but similar additional chapters can also be noticed in several other places⁴¹, so that the Purāṇa grows in length not only out of the inner development of the topic but also owing to external accumulations of questions put by Nārada (=the devotee) to satisfy his curiosity. Each question is a new step that makes the Purāṇa proceed further and reach its goal. So the short summaries at the beginning of each khaṇḍa are only a particular case of a general style traceable in every part of our Purāṇa.

The two anukramaṇikās of 1.1., for example, are simply an application of such style. The first one, 1.1.17-36, forms a series of very detailed questions through which the main topics to be dealt with in the Purāṇa are introduced, and the second, 1.1.47-57, constitutes the answer, in which again another summary of the whole Purāṇa is given. As everyone can realize, one of these summaries is a duplicate of the other but it fits the structure of the Purāṇa notwithstanding its uselessness. This fact puts into light a particular aspect of paurāṇic literature, i. e. its lack of originality. In other words the very fact that the questioner, before listening to the Purāṇa, already knows in detail what he wants to know hints at the fact that in the Purāṇa there is nothing new. Things are retold in a pleasant way in order to increase devotion or to favour a mild polemic against other sampradhāyas, but they are not new revelations or teachings.

2. Anukramaṇikās in form of narrative (2.1.4-160 and 4.132.4-90)

Two anukramaṇikās only—one at the beginning of the second khaṇḍa and one at the end of the Purāṇa—are in the form of narration. They are similar to each other in structure and aim, although the former dwells upon short descriptions while the latter is simply a list of contents. Both of them seem to belong to those anukramaṇikās which according to the śāstras

41. see c. g. 3.18-19 and 3.21-23 studied at pag. 141-142

were one of the cardinal points in forming the plan of a sanskrit work, similar to our lists of contents in printed books and usually known as *adhyāya sampravibhāgas*. Thus, their aim is different from the one we have seen in the dialogic *anukramaṇikās* and unlike them they are accurate lists of the actual content of the book.

The *anukramaṇikā* of the last *khaṇḍa* (4.132) seems to have been written when the *Purāṇa* was already completed, not only because it is at the end of the book but also because it does not belong to the frame of the *Purāṇa* as we have already seen. We have suggested that it might belong to a group of four chapters (4.130-133), forming a unit of their own added to the *Purāṇa* at a later date.

The *anukramaṇikā* of the second *khaṇḍa*, too, has been written separately from the other chapters, as one can deduce from the fact that the order of the topics given in this chapter is not followed in the book and the importance given to some deities in the book is not the same as the one given in the *anukramaṇikā* (as in the case of *Mānasā*, *Swādhā* etc.....)

These discrepancies between the *anukramaṇikās* and the actual content of the *Purāṇa* are meaningful. The *anukramaṇikā* we are considering are, in fact, detailed lists of the content. Everyone, would expect them to be complete and in full agreement with the order of the book. However, this is not always the case. Two example taken from the *Gaṇeśakhaṇḍa* will be enough to make our point clear.

3.18-19 constitute a unit of their own. They begin with a request by *Nārada* and they end with the usual sentence by *Nārāyaṇa* : 'So I have told you everything, now what more do you wish to hear ?' (3.19.47). But they do not fit the story into which they have been inserted. They speak about *Sūrya* and its *kavaca*, *stotra* etc...while the story into which they have been inserted is about *Gaṇeśa*. Moreover, at the beginning of ch. 18, *Nārada* asks *Nārāyaṇa* to remove his doubt, namely, to tell him how it was possible that *Gaṇeśa*, who is the remover of obstacles, could lose his head at the sight of *Saturn*. This question is not answered in our two chapters, and instead *Nārāyaṇa* starts speaking about *Sūrya*, *Malī* and *Sumalī*. The two chapters, therefore, seem to have been added when the story of *Gaṇeśa* had

already been written. And the fact that this addition about Sūrya is not found in the *anukramanikā* of 4.132 seems to hint that the two above mentioned chapters were added when the *anukramanikā* had already been composed.

3.21-23 also form a unit of their own. They start with a question put by Nārada on how the Brāhmaṇas could lose their prosperity and regain it and it ends with the usual formula 'So I have told you the story of Lakṣmī...now what more do you wish to hear?'

These three chapters, dealing with Lakṣmī and the healing power of her devotion, are like a parenthesis in the story of Gaṇeśa. In fact, chapter 24 does not continue chapter 23, but chapter 20. Chapter 20, 63 says: 'So I have told you, my son, the salvific reason why the head of an elephant was attached to Gaṇeśa. Now what more do you wish to hear' ?⁴², and chapter 24,2 continues, quite logically: 'How did it happen that the head of the elephant, which had got two husks, became one-toothed' ?⁴³. So chapters 20 and 24 seem to be the natural sequence of facts while chapters 21-23 are something inserted later. The *anukramanikā* of the last book (4.132), which is usually quite accurate, does not mention the two chapters on Lakṣmī. So it seems that on one side, the *anukramanikā* of the fourth khaṇḍa was written when the present *Purāṇa* had already taken roughly the shape it has now—in fact almost all the topics dealt with in BVP are described in it—and on the other side, some chapters appear to have been added later when the *anukramanikā* had already been composed—and this explains why their content is not mentioned in it.

So the comparative study between *anukramanikās* and actual content of BVP helps discover the date of the different strata of our *Purāṇa*. Such discrepancies in fact are a witness of the text's composition, although unfortunately, only for the last additions.⁴⁴

42. इत्येवं कथितं वत्स किं भूयः श्रोतुमिच्छसि ।
गजाम्ययोजनायाश्च कारणं पापनाशनम् ॥

43. दन्तद्वययुतं वक्त्रं गजराजस्य बालके ।
विष्णुना योजितं ब्रह्मन्नेकदन्तः कथं शिशुः ॥

44. For other interesting notes on text's composition see A. S. Gupta,
op. cit. (note 9)

3 : Anukramaṇikās and their Role

From the point of view of their role, the anukramaṇikās can be divided into two groups. Those which mainly serve a practical or literary purpose and those which are meant for a religious purpose. We shall consider them not only in the BVP, as we have done until now, but also in other Purāṇas. This will help us make up for what is lacking or not clear in our Purāṇa.

a.—Anukramaṇikās with mainly a Practical or Literary Purpose

First of all, the anukramaṇikās are a list of contents, as we have seen until now. Therefore they are sometimes detailed adhyāya sampravibhāgas, as in Mahābhārata, Bhāgavata, Garuḍa, Liṅga, Brahmaparivarta 4.132 etc.—and sometimes only summary accounts, as in Agni, Brahmaparivarta 1.1 etc. But in this connection we have to avoid the misunderstanding of considering the anukramaṇikās as a list of contents, as in our modern printed books. They are, in fact, separate units, small literary compositions; with an importance of their own. They are closer to a retelling of the Purāṇa than to a bare catalogue of the topics. In BVP 4.132 e. g. at the beginning of the anukramaṇikā Śaunaka asks Suta to tell him once again the Purāṇa :

श्रुतं सर्वं नावशेषं धर्मेश ब्राह्मणं च माम् ।
कथयस्व महाभाग पुराणं पुनरेव हि ॥
(4.132.1)

In other Purāṇas, too, the list of contents is understood as a small summary or as the Purāṇa in short (=samāśena). Also from this point of view the anukramaṇikās deserve particular attention.

The anukramaṇikās besides are meant sometimes to give an insight of the Purāṇa. Brahmaparivarta 1.1.1.167b-169a, after having given the list of the topics to be dealt in the text, affirm that such a list makes the Purāṇa clearer because even a big work can be easily understood through its summary :

इति कृत्यसमुद्देशः पुराणांशोपवर्णितः ॥167॥
अनेनानुक्रमेणैव पुराणं संप्रकाशते ।
सुखमर्थं समासेन महानप्युपलक्ष्यते ॥168॥
तस्मात्समासमुद्दिश्य वक्ष्यामि तव विस्तरम् ॥169॥

The same idea is expressed in BVP 2.2.1, although apparently in the opposite way :

समासेन श्रुतं सर्वं देवीनां चरितं विभो ।
विबोधनार्थं बोधस्य व्यासतो वक्तुमर्हसि ॥

'O Lord, I have heard the whole story of the Goddesses in short, you can now tell it to me at length for the awakening of my understanding'. Here the importance of a detailed narration of the story is stressed but only because the previous anukramaṇikā has whetted the reader's curiosity. So summaries were written also to make the understanding of the Purāṇa easier. They were meant, therefore, for a didactic purpose too.

Some anukramaṇikās moreover are used to stimulate the narrative of the Purāṇa. This aim is peculiar to the summaries in form of a dialogue. We have already seen in the previous pages that such an attitude is very common in the BVP. But in other Purāṇas too we find chapters full of questions—called prārambhapraśna if at the beginning of the Purāṇa—which aim at exciting the interest for the story to be told⁴⁵ and sometimes introduce even philosophical problems, as in the case of the Bhāgavata P.

Besides these clear aims, the anukramaṇikās also serve other purposes, namely those which we have been studying in the previous chapters. Very rarely in fact do the anukramaṇikās contain only a mere summary of the contents. Information is usually given about the composition, the name, the purposes etc. of the Purāṇa.

The anukramaṇikās are therefore a really good introduction to the whole Purāṇa.

b. Anukramaṇikās meant for Religious Purpose

It is a well known fact that the Purāṇas are read during festivals, vratas etc. and used as a source of liturgical mantras. Their reading for a religious purpose is encouraged by the Purāṇas themselves, as we find in some of them.⁴⁶ The Vāmana Purāṇa e. g. says : 'O Brāhmaṇa, all your sins are for ever purified

45. see e. g. Kūrma 1.1.12.461 Garuḍa 1 etc...

46. see e. g. Agni 383, 26-29; BVP 4.133.51-64

if you read, listen, or even make others listen to the Vāmana Purāṇa⁴⁷

पाठात् संश्रवणाद् विप्र श्रावणादपि कस्यचित् ।
सर्वपापानि नश्यन्ति वामनस्य सदा मुने ॥

(69.12 critical ed.)

But besides the reading of the whole book the Purāṇas recommend also the listening to even a small part of it. After every stotra, kavaca, story etc. of the BVP e. g. we meet with an exhortation to read them in order to get some particular fruits, and in some Mahātmyas we find that the hearing of a single śloka or part of it is enough to obtain great merits. See, e.g. BVP 4.133.51-52a :

पुण्यवान्श्रवणादेव नैव जानात्यपुण्यवान् ।
श्लोकार्धं श्लोकपादं वा यः शृणोति सुसंयतः ॥51॥
गोलक्षदानपुण्यं च लभते नात्र संशयः ।

This attitude is very important because, in fact, it is responsible for the religious value acquired by the *anukramapikā*. The following example will help to understand better. At the end of the story of the birth of Gaṇeśa BVP (3.10.34) writes : He who, well controlled listens to this section (i.e. the birth of Gaṇeśa) will be full of happiness, the very abode of happiness'.

इमं सुमङ्गलाध्यायं यः शृणोति सुसंयतः ।
सर्वमङ्गलसंयुक्तः स भवेन्मङ्गलालयः ॥

But this invitation, which is quite normal in an effort to make people read a beautiful and purifying story, is immediately extended also to single chapters. 'The merits a man gets from listening to the story of Gaṇeśa is obtained from listening to this chapter.'

यत्पुण्यं लभते मर्त्यो गणेशाख्यानकश्रुतौ ।
तत्फलं लभते नूनमध्यायश्रवणान्मुने ॥
(3.10.38)

So here we see how a single chapter can amount to some importance and become meaningful for a religious festival. Analogically a thing of that sort can happen to a summary, and in fact we

47. Same claims we can read in Mārkaṇḍeya 137, 12; Bhāgavata 12.12. 58-63; Viṣṇu 6.8.52 ff.

read : 'He who knows and recites the summary of the Purāṇa is freed from all his sins and becomes great in the Brahma loka.'

एवं ज्ञात्वा पुराणस्य संक्षेपं कीर्त्तयेत् तु यः ।

सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तो ब्रह्मलोके महीयते ॥

(Kūrma 2.44.119—critical ed.)

That is to say that as far as merits are concerned the Purāṇa and its anukramaṇikā are the same :

पुराणकात्स्न्यश्रवणे यत्फलं लभते नरः ।

तत्फलं लभते नूनमध्यायश्रवणेन च ॥

(BVP 1.1.67)⁴⁸

This fact makes us think that if the anukramaṇikā is equal in merits to the whole Purāṇa it can be considered equal to it even for the readings during religious ceremonies. Our supposition is confirmed by Vāyu Purāṇa, 1.1.25, where the anukramaṇikā is called 'kathā' and therefore equal to any other story to be read at the vratas, festivals etc.⁴⁹ It is confirmed also by Kūrma 2.44.128 (critical ed.):

अध्येतव्यमिदं नित्यं विप्रैः पर्वणि पर्वणि ।

श्रोतव्यं च द्विजश्रेष्ठा महापातकनाशनम् ॥

'This (=summary) which destroys great faults should be listened to by the Brāhmaṇas always, at every parvan or religious day.'

And by Mahābhārata Ādiparvan : 1,206 :

य इमं शुचिरध्यायं पठेत्पर्वणि पर्वणि ।

अधीतं भारतं तेन कृत्स्नं स्यादिति मे मतिः ॥

'In my opinion, he who reads this chapter (=summary) at any parvan reads the entire Mahābhārata.'

So we can say that at least some anukramaṇikās were meant as a complete substitute for the whole Purāṇa and could be read during the vratas, festivals, parvans or even every day to obtain remission of one's sins or merits.

48. See also Kūrma 2.44.119 (critical ed.)

49. इति श्रीमहापुराणे वायुप्रोक्ते प्रक्रियापादेऽनुक्रमणिकाकथनं नाम प्रथमो-
ध्यायः ।

It is difficult however to know whether these anukramaṇikās had been used in fact for such religious purposes. We can say only that they were meant also for that.

It is equally difficult to know whether some anukramaṇikās in the BVP were written for that aim. Some adhyāya (as the above quoted BVP 3.10.), and many stotras, kavaca etc. were surely written to be read or listened to on religious occasions. But nothing is said about the anukramaṇikās. Only at the end of 1.1 and at the beginning of 4.132—which are anukramaṇikās—BVP claims that equal fruits will be got from reading both the chapter and the whole Purāṇa. But our opinion is that we would not be against the spirit of our Purāṇa if we recited 1.1, 2.1 or 4.132 as a paurāṇic kathā at some vratas, festivals, saṃskāras etc.

Conclusion

The anukramaṇikās of the BVP that we have been studying in this article have proved very useful as a general introduction to the whole Purāṇa. Their number, length, purpose and structure helped us to make some discoveries about its authors and some of its general features like bhakti, relation with Vedas, dialogues. Moreover our analysis of the anukramaṇikās led us to conclude that the name itself of Brahma Vaivarta refers to the whole Purāṇa and to the nature of the binomial Brahman-Prakṛti and not to the Brahmakhaṇḍa only, as supposed by Winternitz⁵⁰ or to Brahmā as a God. We have been able to catch also a moment of our text's evolution by collating what we have in the anukramaṇikās and the actual content of the Purāṇa. And we could also find proof that some summaries were written for a religious purpose, i. e. for recitation at some vratas, festivals etc.

The study of the anukramaṇikās has been useful therefore for a literary as well as for a religious discovery. Not all the richness of a Purāṇa can be contained in the few ślokas of some summaries of course. However our anukramaṇikās have proved equal to their task of stimulating interest in the Purāṇa.

The BVP is not much studied. The reasons can be the unfavourable appraisal given in the last century by some

50. See note 35.

scholars like Wilson and Winternitz, and the fact that the main features of the *Purāṇas*, namely the *pañcalakṣaṇa*, are not clearly traceable in it. However, we feel, that, beyond any prejudice, the BVP is worth studying, because it is very useful for discovering the culture of a period when the *Kṛṣṇa*-cult was at the height of its following and the use of the *Satī* and human sacrifices to *Kālī* enjoyed great favour and the *Vedas* were accepted and critized at the same time etc.

If the tendency of seeing *Kṛṣṇa* everywhere and of referring every thing to him makes the *Purāṇa* monotonous sometimes, its reading is never boring. On the contrary it is always stimulating and full of puzzles which induce the scholar to continue his research.

THE MINOR PURĀNAS OF GUJARAT*

(A BRIEF SURVEY)

By

Suresh Kanaiyalal Dave

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे विदुषा लेखकेन 'गुजरात' प्रदेशीयानां स्थल-पुराणानां परिचयः प्रदत्तः । गुर्जरदेशस्थानां तीर्थानां, जातीनां, नदीनां, स्थानानां च माहात्म्यख्यापकानामेषां पुराणानां रचनाकालः श्लोक-संख्या, अध्यायसंख्या, प्रकाशनस्थान, हस्तलेखसंख्या, इत्यादीनामपि विवरणं प्रदत्तम् । एषु पुराणेषु कानिचित् पुराणानि विस्तृतानि कानिचिच्च संक्षिप्तानि । कानिचित् पुराणानि महापुराणानां सर्गप्रति-सर्गात्मकं पञ्चलक्षणमनुसरन्ति कानिचिच्च संक्षेपतो तत्तत्स्थानानां तीर्थानां जातीनां च उद्भवमहत्वादिकमेव प्रख्यापयन्ति । संक्षेपेण गुर्जरदेशीयस्थलपुराणानां प्रामाणिकं संक्षिप्तं च विवरणं प्रस्तुतम् ।]

The Purāṇas are the sources of the earliest history of our country. These sacred books are found to be mines of historical material.¹ They are regarded simply as Veda or fifth Veda², and they are said to be originated from "Ucchiṣṭa" (the remainder; the absolute Brahman, the sole cause of Universe which remains after the destruction of this Universe).³ According to some "The Purāṇas" is a collection of hundred crores of verses.⁴ Mr. Rāpson has rightly said that "the Purāṇas are confessed partly legendary and partly historical"⁵ because we find the sources of Indian history in the legends of the Purāṇas. The Viṣṇu, the

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1. Rasiklal. C. Parikh, Kāvyaṇuśāsana, Introduction p. 16.

2. Chāndogya Upaniṣad. VII. 1. 2.

3. ऋचः सामानि छन्दांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह ।

उच्छिष्टाज्जज्ञिरे सर्वे दिवि देवा दिविश्रिताः ॥

The Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad. II. 4. 10.

4. पुराणमेकमेवासीत् सर्वकल्पेषु मानद ।

चतुर्वर्गस्य बीजं च शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥

The Nārada Purāṇa P. I. 92. 22.

5. Rapson, Cambridge History of India. Vol. I. p. 299.

Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa⁶ mention that Vyāsa composed Purāṇa saṃhitā from the material supplied by Ākhyānas (tales), Upākhyānas (episodes), Gāthās (verses handed down from ancient times) and Kalpajoktis (lore coming down from the ages). It is to be noted that the Vāyu mentions Kulakarma in the place of Kalpajoktis, and we find the detailed description of Kulakarma (the duties of the person of the particular Kula) in the Purāṇas.

Epigraphical and other evidences show that Gujarat has given a fair contribution in the development of Sanskrit literature from 150 A.D.⁷ Gujarat is fairly modern name given to this Western part of India. In ancient time the parts of Gujarat had their own names. The northern part was known as Ānarta, Southern as Aparānta or Lāṭa afterwards and the peninsular Gujarat as Saurāṣṭra or Surāṣṭra. The Kacchas was known by the very name. The regions round about the rivers S̄barmatī and the Sarasvatī were known as Svabhra and S̄arasvata Maṇḍala respectively while the region round about Abu mountain was also a part of Gujarat, known as Maru. This geographical area known as Gujarat as whole was under the rule of Kshatrapas, Chavadas, Solankis and Vaghelas at various times. It was interconnected with other parts of India viz. Malavā, Ujjayinī, Kānyakubja, Pāṭaliputra and Magadha. Hence the cultural and intellectual inheritance of the people of Gujarat was not only the result of its own history of centuries but it was directly or indirectly from the cultural traditions of those countries. Therefore even though the rulers were changing and causing political disturbances, the general cultural life of Gujarat was not at all disturbed. The generous and brave beings like Siddharāja Jayasīṃha and Kumārapāla invited many scholars and learned personalities to their court and inspired them to contribute to the literature. Apart from the religion they followed, they not only respected other religions but also allowed and helped the other religions to grow and expand. There were many small kingdoms in Gujarat but the

6. आख्यानैश्चाद्युपाख्यानैर्गथिभिः कल्पजोक्तिभिः ।

पुराणसंहितां चक्रे पुराणार्थविशारदः ॥

The Viṣṇu III. 6. 15; The Vāyu I. 60. 21; The Brahmāṇḍa. II. 34. 21.

7. Junagadha Rock inscription of Saka Kshatrapa Rudrada

July, 1975]

Solankies of Anhilwad Patan were sovereign kings. Mularāja Solanki came to the throne in 942 A.D. From this year the golden era of Gujarat began and lasted upto the reign of the last Vaghela king (i.e. upto 1304 A.D.). During this period many cities of Gujarat viz. Anhilwada Patan, Modhera, Siddhpur, Somanātha, Anandpur, Arbudachal, Valkhilyanagar, Chandravati, Dhavallaka, Khambhat, Bharuch and Girinagar were well-known for their wealth and cultural activities (Śrī and Sarasvatī). The rivers like Sarasvatī, Sābarmatī, Narmadā, Tāpī Varṇāsā were deeply rooted in the hearts of the people and many Tīrthas came in existence on their banks. The glories of these Tīrthas inspired the pious and learned Brāhmaṇas to compose the Māhātmyas. The people living surrounding these rivers desired to be united into particular groups and various castes and subcastes took place. These caste people united themselves sociologically and contributed to Sanskrit literature by composing the books known as Purāṇas for their caste.

If we look in details, regarding the caste system in India, it originated from the Varṇa system. Occupations, racial differences, the existence of the original tribes in the society and relation of the Āryans with them, various religions and religious ceremonies and geographical and political divisions are the main factors for the development of this system in India.⁸ As the time passed the people became very rigid and one caste person could not even eat, drink or marry and keep social relations with the persons of the other castes. This rigidness helped the development of subcastes in India.⁹ Due to this reason, the castes increased day by day. In 1951 there were about three thousand castes in India.

Late Dr. Anandshankar Dhruva, in his learned and critical lecture, which he delivered at Ahmedabad in 1924, showed the bearing of the Purāṇas on the early history of Gujarat. In the same way the minor Purāṇas composed in the medieval period throw enough light on the political, social and cultural history of this land. Ānarta-modern north Gujarat-is the first province that comes to our view in the Purāṇic tradition. Nāgarakhaṇḍa of the

8. For details See Ghuryas G.S, Caste, class and occupation. Also Dr. A.S. Patel Indian Social institutions p. 92 ff.
9. Dutt N.K, Origin and development of caste in India. Also Dr. A.S. Patel, Ibid. p. 93 ff.

Skanda Purāṇa seems to have been composed there as it is full of the detailed information of that region. In the same way the Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa, the Vastrāpatha Māhātmya, the Dvārakā Māhātmya also must have been originated in Saurāṣṭra. Though it is controversial, it seems that the Matsya Purāṇa must have been written on the banks of the river Narmadā. The Padma Purāṇa describes many places situated on the river Sābarmatī. Some of them are identified but much is to be done for that.¹⁰

Except these, no evidences are found about the composition of the other major Purāṇas in Gujarat. But the learned scholars of this land were much inspired by these encyclopedic works and the series of the various Tirtha Māhātmyas and books known as Purāṇas came into existence.

The authors of these works, called Purāṇas of Gujarat, were much conversant with the technique of Purāṇa-writing. They had studied the major and minor Purāṇas, Smṛti literature and other scriptures well. They were deeply interested in the spread of the views of the caste they belong to and to unite the people of their caste in such a way that they could not think even to be away from that group. They were born poets and therefore, following the Purāṇas composed till that period, framed the subject matter of their new Purāṇas in such a way that it was outwardly as well as internally fully matching with the old major or minor Purāṇas. Even in the colophons at the end of each Adhyāya, they claimed their work as a part of some major Purāṇas viz. the Skanda, the Padma, the Matsya and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.¹¹ Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Śāktism were well spread through out the land. It was necessary that the people of any particular caste following any of the religions may not envy others for this reason. Therefore the oneness of these main deities was necessarily to be proved to continue the unity of the caste. So all these works proved the same by introducing various Ākhyāyikās etc. The Sūrya worship also was in vogue in Gujarat from the ancient time. In Saurāṣṭra Paurvelaknla Pradesh, and Kushasthali Pradesh where the foreigners from West Asia stabled, the sun worship was in vogue. It

10. Details see Umashankar Joshi, "Puranoma Gujarāt".

11. इति श्रीस्कन्दपुराणे वालिखिल्यखण्डे प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।

इति श्रीपद्मपुराणे कोट्यर्कमाहात्म्ये ।

इति श्रीस्कन्दपुराणे साचीहरोपाख्यातम् ।

spreaded all over Gujarat and specially in North Gujarat. The Sun temple at Modhera is indicative of the spread of Sun worship there. These Purāṇakāras also introduced the importance of this worship in their works. In the same way the importance of Brahma was also kept in mind. Thus these Purāṇas have become more or less sectarian. The detailed study of these Purāṇas show that the main motto of the learned authors was to spread the religious beliefs of their caste, together with the singing of the glorious activities of the deity of their faith. In introducing such description, it was their earnest desire to compell the people to follow that religion by showing them the fears to come in the next world if it is not followed.

Old major and minor Purāṇas were like Śāstra granthas to the authors of these minor Purāṇas. They strictly followed the canons laid down indirectly in these works because they wanted to see that these minor Purāṇas must be respected like older Purāṇas. The introduction of Kulakarmas together with Ākhyānas etc. was proper as the Vāyu suggested it. They also accepted and introduced the several marked styles which lead to the evalution and growth of the Purāṇas. They are viz. (1) Introduction of ancient stories and cosmological accounts (2) Detailed discussion of Smṛti matters (3) Acceptance of main five characteristics (Pañca Lakṣaṇas) of the Purāṇas,¹² where it was possible. But where these five characteristics are not accepted, as in the older Purāṇas, they deal with some more religious matter such as Deva Pūja, Vrata, Dāna, Tirtha Māhātmya, the advantages of doing Tirtha Yātrā, Śrāddha etc. together with Ākhyānas connected with them. So these Purāṇas, even though they have local touch more or less, they have become the shorter forms of the Dharma Śāstras. Such books are said to be the real books of Dharma Śāstra even by the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa.¹³ From another point of view these minor Purāṇas are also very important as they are Encyclopaedias,

12. इति श्रीमार्कण्डेयोक्ते सरस्वतीपुराणे ।
सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥
13. एतानि कुरुशार्दूल धर्मशास्त्राणि पण्डितैः ।
साधारणानि प्रोक्तानि वर्णानां श्रेयसे सदा ॥

they deal with importance of various Tīrthas and vratas. They throw light on the history and the vivid picture of society can be seen from them. The authors have some times copied the actual verses from the old Purāṇas to emphasize their views.

It is a well established truth that the Purāṇas existed before Āpastamba's time. His Sūtra is estimated by Bühler as not later than the third century B. C. and possibly 150 200 years earlier.¹⁴ Therefore they must have been existed at least as early as the beginning of the 5th century B. C. In the present Purāṇas much have been added as the time passed on. It is very difficult to find out the exact date of any particular chapter of any Purāṇa or Upapurāṇa. Late Dr. V.S. Agrawal, Dr. R.C. Hazra, Dr. Pusalker and many other oriental and western scholars have flooded sufficient light on the Purāṇas.

The compilation of the Upa Purāṇas began from about 7th or 8th century A. D. and their number went on increasing till about the 13th Century.¹⁵ Traditionally, the number of the Purāṇas was fixed as eighteen अष्टादश पुराणानि । (मत्स्य 53.70). Hence all other compilations were known as Upa Purāṇas, Alpa Purāṇas or Kṣullaka Purāṇas. The minor Purāṇas of Gujarat cannot be put under any name as a rule and their date can be approximately be fixed from 10th Century to 15th Century A. D. But majority of them were composed in 12th to 13th Century.

Now I will briefly introduce some of the minor Purāṇas of Gujarat. The detailed study of these Purāṇas is very necessary and I hope the scholars will do it in the future.

1. *The Sarasvatī Purāṇa*. It is a Purāṇa, or rather a Tīrtha Mahātmya consisting of 2890 verses in 18 सर्ग. Seven MSS of this Purāṇa are available and it is the work of Solanki period. Its date can be approximately fixed as twelfth Century A. D. The Tīrthas situated on the bank of river Sarasvatī are glorified in it. The description of the lake Sahasraliṅga built by Siddharāja Jayasimha in his capital Patan is vividly described by the author. Apart from the religious descriptions of the

14. F.E. Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Traditions, Introduction pp. 2 ff.

15. P.V. Kane, History of Dharmasāstra, p. 855.

various sacred places, we find some political information of the time. The introduction of the life and works of the great king Siddharāja is the main purpose of this Purāṇa.

2. *Dharmāranya*. It is the Purāṇa of Modha Brāhmins and Vaiśyas of Gujarat. There are 39 Adhyāyas. There are two Purāṇas of this name (1) The Dharmāranya in the Brahmakhaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa consisting of 39 Adhyāyas and of 4500 verses (2) The Dharmāranya said to be of the Padma Purāṇa. The descriptive matter in these two books is different but the latter seems to have been composed on the basis of the former. Variations are the same with some changes. These books describe the city of Modhera, history of Modhas in details. The later one has 45,000 verses. The spread of Jainism among Modhavaiśyas shows that the Jain religion must have been one of the main religions at that time. This Purāṇa seems to have been composed in 15th Century.
3. *The Malla Purāṇa*. The Mallas are the Modha Brāhmins, some of Modha Brāhmins after leaving Modhera established at Delmal, now a small village in north Gujarat. One MS is available and it has been edited by Dr. Sandesra and Dr. R.N. Mehta under the auspices of Oriental Institute Baroda. It is of 780 verses divided into 15 Adhyāyas. It fully describes the city of Delmal, the characteristics of Mallas, the outcome of Nimbaja Devī in details. This Purāṇa throws light on the history of the day also.
4. *The Vāyu Purāṇa*. It is not the major Vāyu Purāṇa, but it is a caste Purāṇa of Vayada Brāhmins and Vaiśyas. Vayada or Vāyupura is the main city of their origin. It is about 10 miles away from Patan of north Gujarat. This Purāṇa seems to be composed in 15th or Sixteenth Century. Two incomplete MSS are available. It consists of 632 verses. Main Adhyāyas of this Purāṇa are the verbatim copy of the Nāgarakhaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa. It describes fully the city of Vāyupura, the origin and the history of Vayadas etc. in details.
5. *The Śrīmāla Purāṇa*. It is a Purāṇa of Śrimalis. It has been well studied by Dr. R. N. Mehta and he has put his findings in his learned articles. Śrīmāla is the capital town. Mahā-lakṣmī, the Goddess and deity of the city, announced her

desire to leave Śrīmāla in San. 1203 and will reside at Patan, and Śrīmāla will be destroyed from that day. The Śrīmāla is known as Bhinnamal also. It is consisted of 7500 verses divided into 75 Adhyāyas. The city of Śrīmāla, the origin and history of the Śrīmālas are fully described. It seems to have been composed in 14th Century A. D. The MSS of this Purāṇa are not available.

6. *The Vāḷakhilya Purāṇa*. It is the caste Purāṇa of Vāḷakhilya Brahmins known as Jharols and Guggalis in Gujarat. It consists of 6600 verses divided in 93 Adhyāyas. Vāḷakhilya Nagar is the place of origins of Vāḷakhilya Brahmins and Vaiśyas. The Vāḷakhilyas are said to be originated from the semen of Brahmā at the time of the marriage ceremony of Śiva and Pārvatī. Three MSS of this Purāṇa are found out and it is being edited by me.
7. *The Sachiharopākhyāna*. This is the Purāṇa of Sachihara or Sachora Brahmins of Gujarat. It consists of 692 verses divided into 6 Adhyāyas only. Sacor is situated in Marwar and is the place of their origin. Jain tradition mentions it as Satyapur. It seems that it is a very late compilation.
8. *The Siddhavatika Māhātmya*. It is a caste Purāṇa of Deeswalas Brahmins and Vaiśyas. Deesa, the place of their origin is a city on Varnasa river in North Gujarat. It consists of 800 verses divided into twenty Adhyāyas. It must have been composed in 15th or 16th Century.
9. *The Kotyarka Māhātmya*. It is a caste Purāṇa of Khadayata Brahmins and Vaiśyas. It consists of 816 verses divided into 24 Adhyāyas. The place of origin of this Purāṇa and caste people is Khadet or Khadayata, a town in the Mehsana District. These Brahmins have migrated from Anandpur to this town, so they originally may be Nagaras of Anandpur. It seems to have been composed in 16th Century A.D.
10. *The Brahmakṣetra Māhātmya*. It is a caste Purāṇa of Khedaval Brahmins and Vaiśyas. The place of origin of this Purāṇa is Khetaka, Kheda, a village five miles away from Brahmakṣetra.
11. *The Kandul Purāṇa*. It is a caste Purāṇa of Kandalia Brahmins and Vaiśyas. Vaiśyas are known as Kapal Vaiśyas. It consists of 1404 verses divided into 14 Adhyāyas. Kandul nagar,

July, 1975]

the place of origin of this caste people, was situated near modern town Thāṇa in Saurāṣṭra. The MS of this Purāṇa is not available but Kandul Purāṇa was published in 1935.

12. *The Śrīṣṭhala Māhātmya*. The Anavil Purāṇa. The Tāpī Purāṇa, the Narmadā Māhātmya, the Sabhramati Māhātmya and the Gomatal Prakash are the other minor Purāṇas and Tīrtha Māhātmyas of this type. Their description is not given by me here to avoid undue length of this paper.

All these minor Purāṇas show the great religious and cultural revival among the higher caste people during the golden age of Gujarat. This revival which is expressed in the literature, temples and sculpture shows how the people of Gujarat were fortunate enough to be united among themselves to save and preserve their inherited culture. It can be summarized that the Brāhmins took the leading part. They became the leaders of the particular caste. They developed the basic thoughts of unity. Many of them might have been living on the income which was available from the pilgrims visiting the Tīrthas and so the importance of these Tīrthas was necessary to be sung. They were learned and the mythology, the cultural and religious thoughts of Dharmaśāstras and Purāṇas had much impressed them. Gujarat is much indebted to these scholars who preserved the valuable information of the Gujarat in the Middle Age.

THE NIDHIS—EIGHT OR NINE*

By

N. Gangadharan

[पुराणेषु इतिहासग्रन्थयोः, कोशेषु स्तुतिग्रन्थादिषु च निधीनां वर्णनं प्राप्यते । यद्यपि कोशेषु निधीनां संख्या नव निर्दिशिता तथा पुराणेतिहासादिषु तेषां संख्या तु अष्टौ एव प्राप्यते । केषुचित् पुराणेषु प्रत्येकनिधिसंपन्नानां नृणां गुणानां स्वभावानां च वर्णनमपि प्राप्यते । निधीनां नामविषयेऽपि क्वचित् वैमत्यं दृश्यते । अत्र विदुषा लेखकेन पुराणेतिहासकोशादिग्रन्थानामाधारेण एषां सर्वेषां विषयाणां विवेचनं कृतम् ।]

The lexicographical tradition holds the Nidhis to be nine in number. Amarasimha in his *Nāmalingānuśāsana* defines the term 'Nidhi'¹ and explains them as Padma, Śaṅkha etc. . . Kṣīrasvāmin (11th Cent.), the earliest commentator on Amara, enumerates² them as Mahāpadma, Padma, Śaṅkha, Makara, Kacchapa, Mukunda, Kunda, Nila and Kharva and states that they are nine in number. Bhānujī Dīkṣita, in his C. on *Amarakośa* reads³ the same list (except Kharva) in a different order quoting the authority of *Śabdaraṇava*. *Hārāvalī* of Puruṣottamadeva also gives Varcas in the place of Kharva in the former⁴.

This tradition seems to have had some revision during the growth of the Purāṇic literature.

* Paper read at the XXVII Session of the All India Oriental Conference Kurukshetra, 1974

This topic has been partially dealt with already in *Purāṇa* I. 2 pages. 188-197. "Padminī Vidyā of the Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa" by V.S. Agrawala.

1. निधिर्ना शेवधिः and भेदाः पद्मशङ्खादयो निधिः ।
I. 1. 71.

2. महापद्मश्च पद्मश्च शङ्खो मकरकच्छपौ ।
मुकुन्दकुन्दनीलाश्च खर्वश्च निधयो नव ॥

Poona Or. Ser. 43 (1941), 22.

3. पद्मोऽस्त्रियां महापद्मः शङ्खो मकरकच्छपौ ।
मुकुन्दकुन्दनीलाश्च वर्चोऽपि निधयो नव ॥

N.S. Press ed. 1929. p. 29

4. Same as above. See *Śabdakalpadruma* p. 882.

The Purāṇic texts⁵ refer to the number of the Nidhis as eight. The *Mārkaṇḍeya*⁶ and the *Garuḍapurāṇa*-s⁷ alone describe the nature of these eight Nidhis. The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*⁸ describes them as constituting the Padminvidyā, the knowledge of which confers on the knower special favours. There are also some references⁹ to individual Nidhis without any reference to their number.

From these accounts we find that the Purāṇic tradition has omitted either the Varcas or Kharva and counts the following eight Nidhis: Padma, Mahāpadma, Makara, Kacchapa, Mukunda, Nanda, Nīla, and Śaṅkha. Though these are the names commonly found in the *Purāṇas*, a few of the *Purāṇas*¹⁰ give variant names. *Vāyupurāṇa*¹¹ reads Kumuda in the place of Mukunda.

5. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* 68.3-5 :

अष्टौ निधयस्तेषां स्वरूपं द्रव्यसंस्थितिः । etc. and

यत्र पद्ममहापद्मौ तथा मकरकच्छपौ ।

मुकुन्दो नन्दकश्चैव नीलः शङ्खोऽष्टमो निधिः ॥

Garuḍapurāṇa 1.53. 1-2. almost same verse as above. *Bhāgavata purāṇa* X. 50. 56 :

अष्टौ निधिपतिः कोशान् लोकपालो निजोदयान् ।

यद् यद् भगवता दत्तमाधिपत्यं स्वसिद्धये ॥

Śrīdharaśvāmin in his C. explains them as पद्मश्चैव महापद्मो कुन्दकूर्मी तथोदकः । नीलो मुकुन्दः शङ्खश्च निधयोऽष्टौ प्रकीर्तिताः इति प्रसिद्धात् । Nidhipati filled the Kośa with 8 Nidhis after Kṛṣṇa's battle with Jarāsandha.

Matsyapurāṇa 260.20 on the icon of Kubera :

कुबेरञ्च प्रवक्ष्यामि कुण्डलाभ्यामलङ्कृतम् ।

महोदरं महाकायं निध्यष्टकसमन्वितम् ॥

Vāyupurāṇa 41.10-11

6. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* Ch. 68 verses 10ff.

7. *Garuḍapurāṇa* I. 53. 2-12,

8. See fn. 6 above. For a detailed account of this see V. S. Agrawala, *Purāṇa* I. 2. pp. 188-97.

9. *Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttarakāṇḍa 15.16 and 34.

Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana 137.17 etc.

10. *Vāyupurāṇa*, loc. cit. and *Bhāgavata* loc. cit.

11. तत्र पद्ममहापद्मौ तथा मकरकच्छपौ ।

कुमुदः शङ्खनीलो च नन्दनो निधिसत्तमः ।

अष्टावेतेऽक्षया दिव्या धनेशस्य महात्मनः ॥

A brief account of the eight Nidhis as found in the *Markaṇḍeyapurāṇa*:

Padma. typifies the wealth of those who amass immense quantities of gold, silver and other metals. This was the class of shroffs or merchant guilds (verses 10-11).

Mahāpadma. possessor is a person of profound goodness (verse 16).

Makara. having some vile association; although the person who owns it may be of good temperament—merchants dealing in military stores (verses 17-20).

Kacchapa. a rich man who has amassed great wealth but does not give or enjoy himself being afraid of losing it (verses 20-24).

Mukunda. heir to untold wealth earned and amassed by his forefathers; need not earn now and is free to devote his leisure to fine arts (verses 24-27).

Nanda. wealthy persons represented by the class of landlords; not much interested in the affairs of the other world (verses 28-36).

Ṇīla. class of merchants who do business in general merchandise and building stores (verses 37-41).

Śaṅkha. passion and ignorance enveloping the owner in rajas and tamas.

The brief description in *Garuḍapurāṇa*¹² is a little different.

Padma. sāttvika, embodiment of compassion, one who collects silver, gold and other metals and gifts to mendicants and sacrificial priests.

Mahāpadma. gifts wealth to righteous people.

Makara. gathers weapons; gifts to learned; associates with kings; destroys enemies and their wealth.

Kacchapa. never believes anyone; neither enjoys nor gives.

Mukunda. rājasa; acquires kingdom; gives riches to singers and women.

(*Mahā*) *Nandi*. supports his family; pleased by praises; has many wives; discards old acquaintances and contracts new.

12. I. 53, 2-12.

Nilā. Sāttvika; gathers dress, grains etc.; provides water tanks etc; constructs pleasure gardens.

Śaṅkha. enjoys the wealth himself; never dresses tidily;

The *Garuḍapurāṇa*, also divides the Padma and Mahāpadma as Sāttvika, the Makara and Kacchapa as Tāmasa, the Mukunda and Nanda as Rājasa and Tāmasa and Nilā as Sāttvika.

Coming to Epic Literature, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttarakāṇḍa¹³ describes the origin of Vaiśravaṇa and others and how he was conferred by Brahmā to be the Lord of the Nidhis and of the divine aerial car Puṣpaka. Later, in the description of the fight between Rāvaṇa and Kubera it is said¹⁴ that the two Nidhis—Padma and Śaṅkha, i.e. the presiding deities of the two Nidhis—accompanied Kubera for the battle and brought him back to a garden when he swooned.

The *Mahābhārata*¹⁵ describes the court of Kubera. The chiefs among the Nidhis—Padma and Śaṅkha—are mentioned there to be attendant on Kubera,¹⁶ along with other Nidhis. Their specific number is not mentioned here. Again in the *Mahābhārata*,¹⁷ a Pāñcāla king Brahmadaṭṭa is mentioned as giving the Śaṅkhanidhi as a gift and securing excellent position. Kubera describes¹⁸ to Bhīmasena as to how he incurred the wrath of the sage Agastya and says that he had been to the place Kuśāvati along with the Nidhi—Mahāpadma. Kubera's performance of penance at the Kubera-tīrtha and the gain of the Nidhis, wealth and the Puṣpaka is mentioned.¹⁹

The word Nidhi has meant hidden treasures. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*²⁰ uses it to mean the science of chronology.

13. 3.18 तद् गच्छ बत धर्मज्ञ निधीशत्वमवाप्नुहि ।

14. 15.16 ततो दूरात्प्रददृशे धनाध्यक्षो गदाधरः ।

शुक्लप्रोष्ठपदाभ्यां च पद्मशङ्खसमावृतः ॥

Rāma in his Tilaka C. gives शङ्खपद्मसमावृत as meaning

शङ्खपद्मनिध्यभिमानिदेवसंवृतः See also verse 35.

15. Sabhāparvan 10.

16. *Ibid.* verse 39. निधिप्रवरमुद्ध्यौ च शङ्खपद्मौ धनेश्वरौ ।

सर्वान् निधीन् प्रगृह्याथ उपासाते धनेश्वरम् ॥

17. Anuśāsanaparvan 137.17 and also Śāntiparvan 234.29.

18. महापद्मशतैस्त्रिभिः Vanaparvan 161.54.

19. Śalyaparvan 47.26,

20. 7.2.1

In the stotra literature, in the *Lakṣmyaṣṭottaraśatanāmastotra* of unknown authorship and date, the introductory verses contain a reference to the Nidhi-Padma and the number of the Nidhis as nine according to a version²¹ of text. Whereas another version²² contains a general reference to the Nidhi-Padma etc., without any reference to their numbers.

The dhyānaśloka²³ in the above stotra also contains a reference to the Nidhis-Śaṅkha and Padma besides one Paṅkaja not mentioned anywhere else.

In the *Śyāmalādaṇḍakastotra*²⁴ generally attributed to Kālidāsa, the Goddess is addressed as being attended to by the two Nidhis—Śaṅkha and Padma.

In the mathematical works in Sanskrit, the word *Nidhi* is one among the words used to denote the number nine.²⁵

(aṅka, nanda, nidhi, graha, randhra, chidra, dvāra, go, upendra. keśava, tārkṣyadhvaja, durgā, padārtha, labdha, labdhi etc.)

For example in the colophon to Daivajñālaṅkārti (RASB.X. 7131) Tejasimha gives the date of composition of his work as श्रीभूमृदित्तमस्य त्रिनिधिशिखिरासम्मितेऽब्दे तस्ये मासेज्येष्ठे....., which is taken to mean the year 1693 samvat.

Kubera is described as having eight teeth. An object of enjoyment is to be literally eaten by the enjoyer. It seems the conception of Kubera as having eight teeth is associated with the eight Nidhis.

Thus we find that the Nidhis which had no specific count during the Epic period, were counted as nine in the lexicographical tradition and as eight in the Purāṇic tradition.

21. Verse 3 दुर्लभं सर्वदेवानां चतुष्पष्टिकलास्पदम् ।
पद्मादीनां नवानां च निधीनां नित्यदायकम् ॥
22. पद्मादीनां वरान्तानां निधीनां नित्यदायकम् ।
23. वन्दे पद्मकरां प्रसन्नवदनां सौभाग्यदां भाग्यदां
हस्ताभ्यामभयप्रदां मणिगणैर्नानाविधैर्भूषिताम् ॥
भक्ताभीष्टफलप्रदां हरिहरब्रह्मादिभिस्सेवितां
पार्श्वे पङ्कजशङ्खपद्मनिधिभिर्युक्तां सदा शक्तिभिः ॥
24. रत्नपद्मासने, रत्नसिंहासने, शङ्खपद्मद्वयोपाश्रिते, विश्रुते !
25. For a list of commonly used words to denote the numbers 1-49 see Bibhutibhusan Datta and Avadesh Narayana Singh, *History of Hindu Mathematics* Vol. 1. (Lahore 1935) pp. 54-57.

IDENTIFICATION OF BARHIṢMATĪ

By

Devendra Handa

[इतिहासपुराणयोः प्रामाण्येन इदं प्रतीयते यद् बर्हिष्मती नाम पुरी ब्रह्मावर्तक्षेत्रे आसीत् । अस्मिन्स्थाने भगवतो यज्ञशूकरस्य अङ्गं विधुन्वतो शरीराद् रोमाणि न्यपतन् अतो अस्या नगर्या बर्हिष्मती नामाभूत् । उर्वरेऽस्मिन् क्षेत्रे कुशानां काशानां च प्राचुर्यमासीद् । सर्वसंपत्संपन्नमासीदेतत् क्षेत्रम् । लेखकेन इतिहासपुराणयोरुपलब्धस्यैतस्य क्षेत्रस्य विवरणमाधारीकृत्य अस्य साम्प्रतिक-हरियाणा-प्रदेशान्तर्गत-स्थितकर्नालजनपदस्य बर्हि ग्रामेण सह ऐक्यं स्थापितम् । एतद्विषये लेखकेन पुरातत्त्वसम्बन्धीनि, ऐतिहासिकानि, भाषाशास्त्रीयाणि च प्रमाणानि अपि पुरस्कृतानि स्थापितं च यद् बर्हि-ग्राम प्राचीना एव बर्हिष्मती नाम नगरी आसीत् ।]

Identification of sites and towns mentioned in ancient literature is not easy and always possible. Many old sites are no more in existence, many have lost their importance and have gone into oblivion, a considerable number of them have been destroyed by time, clime or invaders and the nomenclature of many others have changed in the course of centuries and millennia. The antiquity, area, names, physico-geographical features and details of certain sites, however, provide us some clues to their identification. And Barhiṣmatī is one such site.

Barhiṣmatī has been mentioned in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa as the capital city of Svāyambhuva Manu in the Brahmāvarta where the body-hair (romāṇi) of Varāha had fallen when he shook his body after rescuing the earth from the under-world--

बर्हिष्मती नाम पुरी सर्वसम्पत्समन्विता ।

न्यपतन् यत्र रोमाणि यज्ञस्याङ्गं विधुन्वतः ॥¹

This body-hair of the Varāha incarnation of the Lord grew into ever-green Kuśa and Kāśa grasses which were used by sages in the

1. Bhāgavata Purāṇa (Gita Press edition), III. 22 29. Barhiṣmatī was the name of Viśvakarmā's daughter and king Priyavrata's queen ; also Bhāg. P., V. 1. 24. See also K.D. Bajpai (Chief editor), The Geographical Encyclopaedia of Ancient and Medieval India, part I (A-D), Varanasi, 1967, p. 77.

performance of their religious sacrifices, warding off the demons who destroyed the sacrifices.² Manu himself had performed a sacrifice to the Yajñapuruṣa spreading a mat of Kuśa and Kāśa here.³ Being the metropolis, Barhiṣmatī possessed all the affluences (Sarvasampatsamanvitā) and had beautiful buildings of which Manu's Tritāpavināśaka palace was one.

Once Manu Svāyambhuva, accompanied by his queen Śatarūpā and princess Devahūti reached the hermitage of the great sage Kardama near the Bindu-sara tīrtha (modern Binsar) which was surrounded by the river Sarasvatī⁴ and offered him his daughter for marriage.⁵ When Manu Svāyambhuva returned to Barhiṣmatī from Kardama's hermitage, seeing the exuberance of various hermitages on both the banks of Sarasvatī, his subjects came out of the city to escort him with songs, eulogies and musical instruments :

उभयोऽर्चुषिकुल्यायाः सरस्वत्याः सुरोधसोः ।
 ऋषीणामुपशान्तानां पश्यन्नाश्रमसम्पदः ॥
 तमायान्तमभिप्रेत्य ब्रह्मावर्तप्रजापतिम् ।
 गीतसंस्तुतिवादिनैः प्रत्युदीयुः प्रहर्षिताः ॥

Bhāg. P. III. 21.27-28.

From the above account, we can deduce that Barhiṣmatī was located (i) In the Brahmāvarta region

- (ii) Somewhere near the sacred Sarasvatī river
- (iii) In the region where the Lord in his Boar incarnation had appeared.
- (iv) In the fertile land where grew plenty of Kuśa and Kāśa grasses used by sages in their religious sacrifices and in matting and roofing their huts.
- (v) And that the people of the region were fond of songs and music.

2. कुशाः काशास्त एवासन् शश्वद्वरितवर्चसः ।
 ऋषयो यैः पराभाव्य यज्ञघ्नान् यज्ञमीजिरे ॥

Bhāg. P. III. 22.30.

3. Ibid. v. 31.

4. Ibid. ch. 21, vv. 33 ff.

5. Ibid. ch. 22, vv. 9 ff. 14.

On the evidence of the Mahābhārata,⁶ the Vāmana Purāṇa⁷ and the Manu Smṛti⁸, we know that Brahmāvarta was the name of the region situated between the Sarasvatī and Dr̥ṣadvatī rivers, known also as the Kurukṣetra region⁹. Barhiṣmatī lay near the Sarasvatī river which formed the northern boundary of Brahmāvarta and which has been identified with modern Sarsuti which flows to the west of Thanesar and is joined by a more westerly stream Ghaggar¹⁰. The third point further pin-points the location of Barhiṣmatī. The place where the Lord is said to have appeared in his Boar incarnation is described in our scriptures as Varāha tīrtha¹¹ which has been identified with modern Barah Kalan¹² about 25 km. south-west of Safidon in the present day Haryana State. So Barhiṣmatī must be located, not far from Barah Kalan. The whole of the Kurukṣetra region, comprising seven forests, was a fertile land and an ideal place for sages to set up their hermitages. Dvaita-vana, situated very near to the river Sarasvatī¹³, "was covered, at the end of the summer with śālas, palms, Kadambas, Sarjas, Arjunas, Karṇikāras, clothed with flowers. The peacocks, dātyūhas, cakoras, varhins, kokilas sat on the top of the highest trees and emitted their sweet notes. In that forest, the king also saw the leaders of the elephant herds, gigantic like hills with temporal juice trickling down in the season of rut and

6. Mahābhārata, Vana Parva, 83. 53; 84. 43.

7. सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योर्द्वयोर्नद्योर्दन्तरम् ।

तं देवनिमित्तं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते ॥

Vāmana P. 33. 9

8. सरस्वतीदृषद्वत्योर्द्वयोर्नद्योर्दन्तरम् ।

तं देवनिमित्तं देशं ब्रह्मावर्तं प्रचक्षते ॥

Manu Smṛti II. 17.

9. For a detailed account of Kurukṣetra see R. C. Agrawal, Kurukṣetra in the Later Sanskrit Literature, The Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. XXXI, No. 1 (March, 1955), pp. 1-31.

10. Vedic Index, I, pp. 323, 363; II, pp. 434-5; Sir Alexander Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. II, p. 216 and Vol. XIV, p. 88; B. C. Law, Geographical Essays, London, 1937, pp. 86-7.

11. Mbh., Vana Parva, 82. 18-19; Vāmana P. 34.32; Padma P. I. 26.15.

12. H. A. Rose, 'A Note on Kurukṣetra', Indian Antiquary, XXXIII (Nov. 1904) pp. 298ff.; Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. XIV, p. 98.

13. सरस्वतीमुपेत्य निवासकामाः सरस्वती द्वैतवनं प्रतीयुः (Mbh., Vana Parva, 174.21)

accompanied by the herds of she-elephants."¹⁴ There were numerous hermitages in Dvaita and other forests as the region was very fertile where the sages could easily obtain roots, fruits and grasses of various kinds for their daily requirements.¹⁵

The whole account fits in very well if we take the modern Barhi village in district Karnal, Haryana State to be the ancient Barhiṣmatī. Barhi is an early historic site¹⁶ and corresponds well with the antiquity of Barhiṣmatī mentioned in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa which is ascribable to circa sixth century A.D.¹⁷ It is located in the Brahmāvarta, near the Sarasvatī river, nor far from the ancient pilgrimage of Varāha and surrounded all around by fertile fields. The traditional love of song and music of the people in the region attested to by literature¹⁸ and archaeo-

14. पुण्यं द्वैतवनं रम्यं विविशुर्भरतर्षभाः ॥

तच्छालतालाम्रमधूकनीपकदम्बसर्जिर्जुनकर्णिकारैः ।

तपात्यये पुण्यधरैरुपेतं महावनं राष्ट्रपतिर्ददर्श ॥

महाद्रुमाणां शिखरेषु तस्थुर्मनोरमां वाचमुदीरयन्तः ।

मयूरदात्यूहचकोरसंघास्तस्मिन् वने काननकोकिलाश्च ॥

करेणुयूथैः सह यूथपानां मदोत्कटानामचलप्रमाणाम् ।

महान्ति यूथानि महाद्विपानां तस्मिन् वने राष्ट्रपतिर्ददर्श ॥

Mbh. (Sukthankar edition), Vana Parva, 25. 13-16.

English translation by M. N. Dutt, Calcutta, 1896, p. 36.

15. Max Müller, Hymns of the Ṛgveda, I, 1877, London, p. 226; H. C. Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, 5th edition, Calcutta, 1950, pp. 23-4.

16. Suraj Bhan, "The Dawn of Civilization in Haryana", in Haryana Studies in History and Culture (ed. K. C. Yadav), Kuruksetra, 1968, p. 138.

17. R. C. Majumdar (Gen. Ed.), The Classical Age, Bombay, 1970, p. 298.

18. The love for song and music in the Rohitaka area which is adjacent to the Brahmāvarta is well attested to by Divyāvadāna (Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga, 1959, pp. 67-68: वीणावल्लिकामहतीसुघोषकैः श्रोत्राभिरामैश्च गीतध्वनिरनुपरतप्रयोगं etc.) and Pādātaditāgamam (Chaturbhāṇī, edited by Motichandra and V. S. Agrawal, Bombay, 1959, p. 168 : अये नु खलु रोहितकीयैर्मादङ्गिकैः कांस्यपत्रवेणुमिश्रैर्यौधेयकवणेष्वभीयमानः एकश्ववणावलम्बितकुरण्टकशेखरो विरलमपसव्यमाकुलदशमुत्तरीयमपवर्तिकया संक्षिपन्मुहुर्मुहुः प्रकटैकस्फिक् सव्येन पाणिना मद्यभाजनमुत्तिाय नृत्यन्नापानमण्डपं हासयति)

logy¹⁹ is still extant and even the present name can be derived from Barhiṣmatī philologically.²⁰

We thus see that on archaeological, physico-geographical, traditional, circumstantial and philological grounds the present Barhi village in district Karnal, Haryana State, can doubtlessly be identified with ancient Barhiṣmatī, the metropolis of Svāyambhuva Manu, described in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.

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19. A terracotta votive-tank of the Kushan period found from Kurukṣetra depicted one musician elevated on a platform, another figure playing on a pair of cymbals and two others playing on a flute and a tabor (Archaeological Survey Report, 1921-22, p. 48). A terracotta tablet measuring $7\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$ inches with seven svaras in the script of the 9th century A.D. found from Agroha acquaints us with the continuing musical tradition in the area (H. L. Srivastava, Excavations at Agroha, Punjab, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 61, Delhi, 1952, p. 4, plate XIII. 1).
20. Barhiṣmatī > Barhiṣmaī > Barhi-aī > Barhi.

RIVERS OF KURUKṢETRA IN VĀMANA PURĀṆA*

By

Sasanka Sekhar Parui

[वामनपुराणस्य सरोमाहात्म्यभागे कुरुक्षेत्रस्थितानां नदीनां तीर्थानां वनानां च विस्तृतं विवरणं वर्तते; अस्मिन् निबन्धे कुरुक्षेत्रस्थ नदीनां विवेचनं प्रस्तुतम् । कुरुक्षेत्रस्थिता एता नद्यः वैदिकग्रन्थेषु पुराणेषु महाभारते च निर्दिश्यन्ते । आसामध्ययनं साम्प्रतिकस्थितिनिर्देशं च अनेकैः विद्वद्भिः कृतम् । वामनपुराणे नव नदीनां विवरणं प्राप्यते । ता नद्याः सरस्वती-वैतरणी-आपगा-मन्दाकिनीगङ्गा-मधुस्रवा-वासुनदी-कौशिकी-द्रुपद्वती-हिरण्वती-इत्येताः सन्ति । अत्र विदुषा लेखनेन सर्वेषामुपलब्धानां प्रमाणानामाधारेण आसां नदीनां विवेचनं प्रस्तुतम् ।]

The holy rivers of Kurukṣetra are mentioned in the following passage of the *Vāmana Purāṇa*—

*Sarasvatī nadī puṇyā tathā Vaitaraṇī nadī /
Āpagā ca mahā-puṇyā Gaṅgā Mandākinī nadī //
Madhusravā Vāsunadī¹ Kauśikī pāpa-nāśinī /
Dṛṣadvatī mahā-puṇyā tathā Hiraṇvatī nadī //
Varṣā-Kāla-vahāḥ sarvā varjayitvā Sarasvatīm /²*

The above nine rivers of Kurukṣetra are the Sarasvatī, Vaitaraṇī, Āpagā, Gaṅgā-Mandākinī, Madhusravā, Vāsunadī, Kauśikī, Dṛṣadvatī and Hiraṇvatī. In the Baṅgabāsī ed. (13.1), it is said that there are seven rivers in Kurukṣetra; but in verses *ibid.*, 6-8, nine of them are mentioned. In this connection, Cunningham³ remarks that 'the Hindus invariably assign seven branches to all their rivers and suggests that the Madhusravā and the Vaitaraṇī are added by mistake. The Madhusravā is taken by Cunningham to be the holy pool in the bed of the Sarasvatī at Prthūdaka and the Vaitaraṇī as another name of the Dṛṣadvatī. But this view of Cunningham has been refuted by M. L. Bhargava.⁴

* See also "the rivers in the *Vāmana Purāṇa*" by Suresh Kanaivalal Dave in *Purāṇa*, XII. 1 pp. 33-47.

1. In the Baṅgabāsī ed., the reading is *Amlunadī*.

2. *Saro-māhātmya* (Vām. P., Cr. edn.) 13.6-8.

3. *ASI*, Vol. XIV, p. 87.

4. *The Geography of Rgvedic India*, Lucknow, 1964. p. 48; also see below.

1. Sarasvatī

Among the holy rivers of Kurukṣetra, the Sarasvatī occupies the foremost position by virtue of its holiness. In the *Ṛgveda*, there is a verse as regards the identity and importance of the Sarasvatī.

The verse⁵ runs thus :

ek = ācetat Sarasvatī nadīnām
śucir = yātī giribhya ā-samudrāt/
rāyaś = cetamīti bhuvanasya bhūrer =
ghṛtaṁ payo duduhe Nāhuṣaya //

"The Sarasvatī originates in the mountains and falls to the ocean. It is the chiefest and purest. It is the source of food and wealth of the descendants of Nahuṣa and of 'other living beings'. What is meant by 'other living beings' is perhaps the five tribes, viz., the Bharatas, Kurus, Ruśamas, Matsyas and Videhas,⁶ for it is said in the *Ṛgveda* that the Sarasvatī causes the prosperity of five folks.⁷ She is the purifier⁸, and the bestower of wealth, progeny, immortality and vitality: She is called *ambitāmā*¹⁰, *naditāmā*¹¹ and *sindhumātā*.¹² *Sindhumātā* may have the sense of *nadīmātā*, or may indicate a possible connection with the Indus.¹³ She is said

5. *Ṛgveda*, VII. 95. 2; ed. Max Müller, Vol. IV, p. 242 for the Sarasvatī see also *ABORI*, Vol. XLII, pp. 1ff.

6. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 2nd ed., p. 133.

7. *Ṛgveda*, VI. 61. 12 *pañca jātā vardhayanti*; ed. Max Müller, Vol. III, p. 845.

8. *Ṛgveda*, VI. 52. 6; ed. Max Müller, Vol. III, p. 815—
Indro nediṣṭham = avas = āgamiṣṭhaḥ
Sarasvatī Sindhubhiḥ pinvamānā/
parjanya na oṣadhībhir = mayobhur =
agniḥ suśamsaḥ suhavaḥ pit = eva//

9. *Ṛgveda*, X. 30. 12; ed. Max Müller, Vol. V, p. 532.

10. *Ṛgveda*, II. 41. 15; ed. Max Müller, Vol. II, p. 620.

11. *Lōc. cit.*

12. *Ṛgveda*, VII. 36. 6; ed. Max Müller, Vol. IV, p. 68.

13. See *Vajasaneyi Samhitā*, 34. 11.

to have seven sisters and is seven fold.¹⁴ She is mentioned along with the Sarayū and the Sindhu.¹⁵ and sometimes with the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Śutudri, Puruṣpī and others.¹⁶ Sarasvatī, the best of mothers, rivers and goddesses,¹⁷ is associated with the Maruts and Aśvins.¹⁸ In the *R̥gveda*, she is called the wife of a hero¹⁹ and in the *Vājasaneyī Samhitā*, the wife of the Aśvins.²⁰ In the later Vedic texts she is identified with the goddess of eloquence, wisdom and speech, and is also said to be the wife of Brahman.²¹

The holy character of the river may be proved by the facts that Agni was kindled for sacrifice on its bank,²² and she was invoked to descend from the sky and the mountain to the sacrifice²³ and she sits on the sacrificial grass.²⁴

14. *R̥gveda*, VI. 61. 10; ed. Max Muller, Vol. III, p. 845
uta naḥ priyā priyāsu saptasvasā sujuṣṭā |

Sarasvatī stomyā bhūt |

See also *R̥gveda*, VII. 36. 6; ed. Max Müller, Vol. IV, p. 68—

ā yat sūkām yaśaso vāvaśānāḥ

Sarasvatī saptathi sindhu mātā |

See also *R̥gveda*, VIII. 54. 4.

15. *R̥gveda*, X. 64. 9; ed. Max Müller, Vol. VI, p. 94—
Sarasvatī Sarayūh Sindhur-ūrmibhir=maho mahīr=
avasā yantu vakṣaṇīḥ |

16. *R̥gveda*, 75.5; ed. Max Müller, Vol. VI, p. 153
yamune Sarasvatī Śutudri stomam sacatā Paruṣnyā |

17. *R̥gveda*, II. 41.16; ed. Max Müller, Vol. II, p. 620—
ambitame nadītame devitame sarasvatī |

18. *R̥gveda*, VII. 9.5; ed. Max Müller, Vol. III, p. 938—
Sarasvatīm Maruto Aśvin=āpoyakṣi devān=ratnadhe yāya
viśvān ||

See also *R̥gveda*, X. 131.5; ed. Max Müller, Vol. VI, p. 478.

19. *R̥gveda*, VI. 49.7; ed. Max Müller, Vol. III, p. 794—
pāvīravī Kanyā Citrayuḥ Sarasvatī Vīra-patnī dhiyam dhāt |

20. *Vājasaneyī Samhitā*, 19, 94; see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* p. 87.

21. *Vāj. Samhitā*, 19.12; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 3.9; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 3.1.

22. *R̥gveda*, III. 23.2-3; ed. Max Müller, Vol. II, pp. 746-47.

23. *R̥gveda*, V. 43. 11; ed. Max Müller, Vol. III, p. 411.

24. *R̥gveda*, 17.7-9; ed. Max Müller, Vol. V, p. 459.

In the *Mahābhārata*, the Sarasvatī is said to be holy and the best of the rivers.²⁵ The very name *Sarasvatī* suggests that there were many pools and lakes formed in its course. In the epic,²⁶ a large number of such pools are mentioned and eulogized. Matināra, the ancestor of Duṣmanta, performed a sacrifice on her bank for twelve years and after the completion of the sacrifice Sarasvatī married him,²⁷ though she is said to be the wife of the Maruts and Aśvins in the Vedic literature.²⁸ Kṛṣṇa also performed a sacrifice on its bank for twelve years.²⁹ There developed a large number of pilgrim spots on its banks.³⁰

Though the Sarasvatī is said to have joined with the sea forming a holy spot at her confluence,³¹ it split up into several parts, seen at different places,³² that were joined by invisible links.³³ This is why Raychaudhuri thinks that the lower parts of the Sarasvatī became disconnected with the main river before the completion of the epic.³⁴ One of the places of disappearance of the Sarasvatī is called Vinaśana.³⁵ It is said in the *Mahābhārata*

25. XIII. 134.15.

26. I. 2. 4ff.; III. 25.10-12; 81-178; IX. 30.53; 37. 25; 43. 10-28.

See also *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. 5.4.9; Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, ch. 66.

27. *Mbh.*, I. 90.25-26-

Matināraḥ khalu Sarasvatyām dvādaśa vārsikam satram
ājahāra ||
nivṛtte ca satre sarasvaty = abhigamya tam bhartāram vara-
yāmāsa |
tasyām putram = ajanayat Tamsuṁ nāma ||

28. See above

29. *Mbh.*, III. 13.13-

āsīḥ kṛṣṇa Sarasvatyām satre dvādaśa vārsike ||

30. *Ibid.*, 88.2-

Sarasvatī punya-cahā (mahā-punyā) hrādinī (ol. hlādinī) vana
(v.l. tīrtha) Mālinī |

31. *Mbh.*, III. 80.79-

Sarasvatyāḥ sāgarasya ca saṅgame |

See also *ibid.*, XIII. 146.17-

Nadī sāgara-gāminī.

32. *Ibid.*, IX. 35.1ff.

33. *Ibid.*, 35.84.

34. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 137,

35. For the identification of Vinaśana, see above.

that the Sarasvatī disappeared at Vinaśana, the gate of the Niśāda Kingdom, so that the Niśādas could not see her.³⁶ Raychaudhuri offers three suggestions regarding the cause of disappearance of the Sarasvatī, viz., the high degree of aridity and the south-west monsoon that drifted the sand, diversion of the air containing water-vapour and diversion of the headwater of the Sarasvatī through some other rivers, e.g., the Yamunā or the Sutlej.³⁷

As in the Vedic literature, so also in the epic, the Sarasvatī is mentioned along with the Sindhu.³⁸ There is no evidence of their being identified. The Sarasvatī was the rival of the Indus in the Vedic period and in the epico-Purāṇic period she is considered to be the rival of the Gaṅgā.³⁸

The Sarasvatī played a dominant role in the growth and development of culture and civilization of ancient India. The eulogy of the Sarasvatī uttered by Mārkaṇḍeya, later on relayed by Lomahaṛṣana to a band of sages and long after that narrated by the compiler of the *Vāmana Purāṇa* clearly reveals the role of the great river. It is said to be the mother of all beings. the auspicious mother of gods.⁴⁰ Every thing is said to be rooted in her.⁴¹ Lomahaṛṣana further said the following⁴² regarding the Sarasvatī

etan = mātṛa-tryāṇ⁴³ devī tava rūpam Sarasvatī |
Vibhinna-darśanām = ādyām Brahmaṇo hi sanātānīm ||

36. *Mbh.*, III 130-4.

doṣam Niśāda rāṣṭrasya yeṣāṃ doṣāt Sarasvatī |
praviṣṭa pṛthivīm vīra mā niśāda hi mām viduḥ |

37. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp. 139-40. See also *Science and Culture*, Vol. VIII, p. 473, note, and *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shāhī* (1450 A. D.) tr. K. K. Basu, p. 137.

38. *Mbh.*, II. 9. 19-

Vipāśā Ca Śatadruś = ca Candrabhāgā Sarasvatī |
Irāvati Vitastā ca Sindhur = Devanadā = tathā ||
See *Ibid.*, III. 156 8-

Ilā Sarasvatī Sindhur = yamunā Narmadā tathā |
See also *Ibid.*, 186. 93-94.

39. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57. 30-

sarvāḥ punyāḥ Sarasvatyaḥ sarvā Gaṅgāḥ samudra-gāḥ |

40. *Vmn*, Sm. 11.6-

tvaṃ devī sarva-lokāṇām mātā devāraṇiḥ śubhā |

41. *Ibid.*, 11.7-yatra sarvām pratiṣṭhitam.

42. *Ibid.*, Sm. 11. 12.

43. The three mātṛas are represented by omkāra, *ibid.* Sm. 11. 9.

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Thus the three *mātrās* are but her appearance, her primordial, eternal and wonderful forms. The Sarasvatī is also said to be the tongue of Viṣṇu.⁴⁴

In this eulogy two aspects of the Sarasvatī are revealed. Firstly, she makes the land fertile and fit for cultivation and by that capacity she is the very source and root of life. Secondly, she is represented as the goddess of learning and thus she is also the source of culture and learning. So she is undoubtedly holy and excellent.⁴⁵ Thus the Vedic and epic conception of the Sarasvatī is maintained in the Purāṇas. What is added in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* is that the Sarasvatī is personified as a goddess seated on an elephant and holding a white chowrie resembling the swan, the Kunda flower and moon.⁴⁶ This is a unique description of the Sarasvatī. Here the elephant is represented as a symbol of prosperity.

The Sarasvatī is one of those rivers that originated from the Himalayas (*Himavat-pāda-niḥsṛtāḥ*).⁴⁷ But at different places in the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* the Sarasvatī is called Plakṣajā, i.e., born of the Plakṣa.⁴⁸ In this connection it is said in the *Vāmana Purāṇa*⁴⁹ that, after crossing a large number of mountains, the Sarasvatī entered the Dvaita-vana. Mārkaṇḍeya saw her established in the Plakṣa and praised her. Then Sarasvatī the tongue of Viṣṇu being pleased, agreed to go where Mārkaṇḍeya would

44. *Ibid*, Sm. 11. 22—Viṣṇor = *jihvā Sarasvatī*; see *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 3.9; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 3.1; *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, 19.12; above. Also see *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 23.40-48.

45. *Vmn* 2.42—

Sarasvatī yatra puṇyā syandate saritām varā and ibid. 7.42 *Sarasvatīm puṇyām dadarśa vimal=odakām.*

46. *Ibid.*, 27.12—

hamsa-kund=endu-saṁ-kāsaṁ bāla-vyajanam=uttamam / Sarasvatī saric=chreṣṭhā gaj-ārūddā samādadhe //

47. *Ibid.*, 13.20-22; vide also *Matsya Purāṇa*, 114. 20. and compare *Rgveda*, VII. 95.2, above. The Sarasvatī rises in the Sirmur hills of the Siwalik range in the Himalayas; vide Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 40.

48. *Vmn.*, Sm. 11.3—*Plakṣa-brkṣāt samudbhūtā saric=chreṣṭhā sanātani*; see also *Mbh.*, III. 82.5—*Plakṣād=devī srutā rājan mahā-puṇyā sarasvatī and ibid.*, I. 169.20—*Plakṣa-jātām Sarasvatīm.*

49. *Vmn.*, Sm. 11. 4-5 & 23.

take her. Thus the name *Plakṣajā* is associated not with origin of the *Sarasvatī*, but with her in the *Dvaita-vana* probably because of the plentiful growth of this tree in the region. The story of *Mārkaṇḍeya* may indicate the fact that, after reappearing at *Barakhera*, the *Sarasvatī* was joined by the *Mārkaṇḍeya* at *Urna* near *Pehoa* and the united stream was also known as the *Sarasvatī*.⁵⁰

There is a controversy regarding the identity of the *Sarasvatī*. It is identified with four rivers, viz., the Avestan river *Harahvaiti* in Afghanistan,⁵¹ the *Indus*,⁵² a tributary of the *Śutudrī* which later on merged with the *Vipāś*,⁵³ and a river associated with the *Dṛśadvatī* and the *Āpayā* and later on formed the boundary of *Kurukṣetra*.⁵⁴ The *Ṛgvedic* river *Sarasvatī* mentioned along with the *Dṛśadvatī* cannot be any other than the modern *Sarsuti*.⁵⁵ In the 9th century, it was known as *Prācī Sarasvatī*⁵⁶ as against the western *Sarasvatī* which may be identified either with the Avestan *Harahvaiti*⁵⁷ or the river flowing by the shrine of *Śāradā* in *Kashmir*.⁵⁸

Rising in the *Simur hills*, the *Sarasvatī* emerges into the plains for the first time at *Ād-Badrī* in the *Ambala District*. Then

50. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 40 note For the *Mārkaṇḍa*, also see *Census of India*, 1961, Punjab, District Census Handbook, No. 4, Karnal District, p. 4.
51. See Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 31.
52. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 87.
53. *JRAS*, Vol. XXV, pp. 49-76; also see Muir, *OST*, 2.345.
54. *SBE*, Vol. XXXII, p. 60.
55. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 2nd ed. p. 130; Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p. 22.
56. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 187. In the *Padma Purāṇa*, the *Sarasvatī* on the bank of which *Śiva* Stayed with the sage *Mankaṇaka* is called *Prācī Sarasvatī* (l. 18.—*Prācīm = ev = eha Vatsyāmi tvayā sārḍham = ahaṁ sadā*). The abode of *Maṅkaṇaka* was in *Kurukṣetra*. In connection with *Puṣkara* also, the *Sarasvatī* is called *Prācī* (*ibid.*, l. 18. 130—*Prācīpūrvavahā nāmna muni vandyā Sarasvatī* I See also *ibid.*, l. 18. 218—*Puṣkar-āraṇyam = āsādyā Prācī yatra Sarasvatī* and 233-35.
57. *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p. 291, and *CHI*, Vol. 1, p. 321, note.
58. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, l. 37; See also Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, 2nd ed., p. 131.

it disappears and reappears several times in course of her journey towards the south and south-west, till at last it flowed into the Arabian sea in the early Vedic period.⁵⁹ It was visible between Ād-Badrī and Chalur, Bhavanipur and Balchappar and reappeared again at Barakhera before being joined by the Mārkaṇḍeya and entering Kurukṣetra^{59a}

The Sarasvatī is considered to the northern boundary of Kurukṣetra.⁶⁰ But in the *Mahābhārata* it is said that the Sarasvatī disappears at the Vinaśana-tīrtha, but reappears at Camasa, Śivodbheda and Nāgodbheda.⁶¹ The later legend is that the Sarasvatī became invisible and joined the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā at Allahabad.⁶²

As regards the antiquity and course of the Sarasvatī, the *Padma Purāṇa*⁶³ reveals the following facts. Being ordered by Brahman, his daughter Sarasvatī agreed to carry *vāḍav-agni* to the western sea for the welfare of the gods. She bade farewell to the gods, took the form of a river and appeared near the hermitage of Utaṅka under a Plakṣa tree at the presence of the gods.⁶⁴ On the eve of her journey, Viṣṇu told her that, while carrying the *vāḍav-agni*, she should not think herself free from danger, because the *vāḍav-agni* would drink up the water in her course.⁶⁵ Viṣṇu thus hints of the disappearance of the Sarasvatī. Going on a short distance from the Puṣkarāraṇya towards the west, she disappeared,⁶⁶ but reappeared in the Kharjura-vana where she was called

59. *Rgveda*, ed. Max Müller, p. 6, Commentary.

59.a See Sircar, *Studies in the geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 40. note.

60. See above.

61. *Mbh.* III. 80. 118-

tato Vinaśanam gacchen = niyato niyat-āśanam |
gacchaty = antarhitā yatra maru prṣṭhe Sarasvatī |
Camase ca Śivodbhede Nāgodbhede ca drśyate ||
for Nāgodbheda also see *Agni Purāṇa*, 109. 13ff.

62. B. S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa*, p. 15.

63. *Padma Purāṇa*, I. 18. 157ff. Also see *Bṛhatsamhitā*, XX. 2.

64. *Padma Purāṇa* I. 18. 186-87. The Sarasvatī is called Plakṣā-devī after the Plakṣa tree. See *ibid.*, III 14. 7-
Plakṣā-devī smṛtā rājan = mahā-puṇyā Sarasvatī.

65. *Ibid.*, I. 18. 94-95.

66. *Ibid.*, I. 18. 247-

Puṣkarārāṇyam = asāḍya punas = tasmāt Sarasvatī |
antarddhānam gatā gantum pravṛttā paścimā mukhī |

Nandā,⁶⁷ then she proceeded towards the south⁶⁸ and at last towards the west.⁶⁹

As regards the tributaries of the Sarasvatī, it is said in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* that the Suprabhā, Kāñcanākṣī, Viśālā, Mānasa-bradā, Sarasvatī, Suveṇu and Vimalodakā are united in one at the Sapta-sārasvata-tīrtha.⁷⁰ These are the seven names of the Sarasvatī called at different places. She was called Suprabhā at Puṣkara,⁷¹ Kāñcanākṣī at Naimiṣa,⁷² Viśālā at Gayā,⁷³ Mānasahrđā in Uttara Kośala,⁷⁴ Suveṇu at Kedāra,⁷⁵ Vimalodā at Gaṅgādvāra,⁷⁶ and Sarasvatī in Kurukṣetra. The origin of the seven Sarasvatīs may be traced back to the *R̥gveda*.⁷⁷ It is said in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* that all these seven rivers were guided to Kurukṣetra by Mañkaṇaka, with the help of his mental power.⁷⁸ The confluence is known as the Sapta Sārasvata-tīrtha. What is clear

67. *Ibid.*, I. 18. 248-50. The Sarasvatī was named Nandā after a holy cow of the same name. Cf. *ibid.*, I. 18. 457-
Nandā yena gatā svargam Nandām prāpya Sarasvatīm |
ten = ākhyayā budhais = tasyāḥ proktā Nandā Sarasvatī ||
 For the legend of Nandā see the previous verses of same chapter.

68. *Ibid.*, I. 18. 458-
Sarasvatī punas = tasmād = vanāt Kharjūra-sajjñitat |
dakṣiṇena punar = vātā plāvayantī dharā-talam ||

69. *Ibid.*, I. 18. 466.

70. *Vmn.*, Sm. 16. 17-18.

71. *Ibid.*, Sm. 16. 21-23.

72. *Ibid.*, Sm. 16. 28.

73. *Ibid.*, Sm. 16. 30-31.

74. *Ibid.*, Sm. 16. 32-34.

75. *Ibid.*, Sm. 16. 35-36.

76. *Ibid.*, Sm. 16. 37-38; See *Ibid.*, 36, 54 in which there is a list of seven Sarasvatīs of them Vimalodā is replaced by Oghavatī.

77. *R̥gveda*, VII. 36.6 and VI. 61.10; also see above. There are other rivers called Sarasvatī in Gujarat (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, p. 192; *Skanda Purāṇa*, VII. 35. 38; *ASI*, Western circle, 1905-6, p. 53; *Mbh.*, III. 82.58-60; IX. 35. 72; *Vmn.*, Baṅgabāsī ed., 85.28; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 275 and 283), at Trivenī and at Muktavēṇī in the Hooghly District of West Bengal (*Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa*, I. 6. 27-28. 33-34).

78. *Vmn.* Sm. 16.23.31, 34, 36 & 38.

in this legend is that this place (i. e., the Saptā-Sārasvata-tīrtha) is considered to be as holy as the seven places, viz., Puṣkara, Naimiṣa, Gayā, Uttarakośala, Kedāra, Gaṅgādvāra and Kurukṣetra and any body having a dip here will secure the merit of bathing at those seven places.

It is for the benefit of all beings that the Sarasvatī pursues her course in different directions.⁷⁹ The eastern stream is equated with the Gaṅgā, the southern with the Narmadā, the western with the Yamunā and the northern with the Sindhu.⁸⁰ It is said that a man bathing in the Sarasvatī attains the merit of bathing in all the tīrthas.⁸¹

The four streams are probably nothing but four bathing pools. The legend is added with the object of increasing the sanctity of the Sarasvatī.

There are epigraphic references of the glory of the Sarasvatī which causes final beatitude, cuts the bonds of misery and protects from lust and diseases. A ninth Century inscription compared the Sarasvatī with a boat for crossing the ocean of births, a chariot for travelling along the road of the gods, a cloud to shed showers on the fire and sun to destroy the thick mudlike darkness of diseases. The epigraphic text^{81a} runs as follows —

*dhau sura-patha-gamane syandanas-sā dhu [-varga]
āta vanhe—pralaya-jala dharassāmpatat sāndra-dhārāḥ/
nāna-vyādhi-pravandha-pracura tara tama—pañka-viñham
sabhānur
nīrañ=ca=iva tat samantād, tu duritaV--V[s]
ārasvataṁ vahḥ||*

79. *Ibid.*, Sm. 21. 9.

80. *Ibid.*, Sm. 21.7-8.

*pūrva—pravāhe yaḥ snāti Gaṅgā-snāna-phalaṁ labhet/
pravāhe dakṣiṇe tasyā Narmadā saritāṁ varā||
paścime tu diśābhāge yamunā saṁśritā nadī/
yadā uttarato yāti Sindhur=bhavati sā nadī||*

81. *Ibid.*, Sm. 21. 9—

*tasyāṁ snātaḥ sarva-tīrthe snāto bhavati mānavāḥ/
For the mātmya of the Sarasvatī, also see Lakṣmīdhara,
kṛtyakalpataṛu, GOS, Vol. VIII, pp. 249-50.*

81a. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 1, p. 245.

2. *Vaitaraṇī*

The *Vaitaraṇī* is mentionend for the first time in the *Mahābhārata*. The *Vaitaraṇī-tīrtha* of the epic is identical with some spot on the *Vaitaraṇī* river in the region of the *Viraja-tīrtha*.⁸² *Vaitaraṇī* is sometimes used as another name of the *Gangā*, particularly in the region of the *pitṛs*. It is very difficult for the sinners to cross this river.⁸³ The *Vaitaraṇī* associated with *Viraja* rises from the *Vindhya* and flows through *Orissa* into the *Bay of Bengal*.⁸⁴ So this river is not associated with *Kurukṣetra*.

The name *Vaitaraṇī* occurs thrice in the *Vāmana Purāṇa*, once in connection with the list of rivers rising from the *Vindhya*⁸⁵ and twice in relation to *Kurukṣetra*.⁸⁶ The *Vaitaraṇī* is associated with *Kurukṣetra* for the first time in the list⁸⁷ of the holy rivers of *Kurukṣetra* and for the second time in the following verses⁸⁸ which are adapted from the *Mahābhārata*⁸⁹ with very little modification—

tatas=Triviṣṭapaṁ gacchet tīrthaṁ deva-niṣevitam /
tatra Vaitaraṇī puṇyā nadī pāpa-pramocanī ||
tatra snātv=ārcayitvā ca Śūlapāṇīm vṛṣa-dhvaṇam /
sarva-pāpa-viśuddh-ātmā gacchaty=eva parāṁ gatim ||

Thus the *Vaitaraṇī* is a holy river on the bank of which the *Triviṣṭapa-tīrtha* is situated. This river is the destroyer of all sins. If anybody bathes in it and then worships lord *Śiva* on its bank, he attains emancipation.

As it is absent in the list of rivers rising from the *Himalayas* and as very little information is given regarding it by the author

82. *Mbh.*, III. 83.6 and 114.4; V. 107. 14.

83. *Ibid.*, I. 158.19—

tathā pitṛṇ Vaitaraṇī dustarā pāpa-karmabhiḥ /
 See also *ibid.*, VI. 99.38; VII. 48.50; VIII 55.42.

84. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 50 note; p. 84; also see *IHQ*, Vol. XXVII, p. 224.

85. *Vmn.*, 13.28.

86. *Ibid.*, Sm. 13.6; Sm. 15. 41-42 Cf. N. L. Dey, *op. cit.* p. 18.

87. *Vmn*, Sm. 13.6-8; see also *Padma Purāṇa*, I. 26.79.

88. *Vmn.*, Sm. 15. 41-42. For the holiness of the river see also *Kūrma Purāṇa*, II. 36. 36-37; *Padma Purāṇa*, III. 12.85-86.

89. *mbh.* III. 81.70.

of the epic and by the compiler of the *Vāmana Purāṇa*, it may be a small tributary of some river, possibly the Sarasvatī.

3. Āpagā (v. 1. Āpayā)

The earliest reference of this river is found in the following passage of the *R̥gveda*⁹⁰ where it is mentioned between the Sarasvatī and the Dr̥ṣadvatī—

Dr̥ṣadvatyām mānuṣa Āpayāyām Sarasvatyām revad=agne didīhi

The identity of Āpayā or Āpagā is a matter of controversy. Ludwig identifies it with the Gaṅgā.⁹¹ Zimmer thinks that it is either a tributary of the Sarasvatī or the modern Indramatī⁹² Pischel simply recognises it to be a river of Kurukṣetra.⁹³ Cunningham identifies it either with the Ayak-nadī, which is a small stream that arises in the Jammu hills to the north east of Sialkot and is marked in the revenue survey maps as the Nananwa Canal flowing 15 miles to the south-west of Sāngala⁹⁴, or with a twenty five miles long branch of the Chitang, which originates 'a few miles to the west of Ladwa and flows past Pulwal to Pabnawa, where it is lost in the sands.'⁹⁵

The importance of this river is no less in the days of the compilation of the *Vāmana Purāṇa* than it was in the age of the composition of the *Mahābhārata*. The eulogy of this river is found in six verses⁹⁶ of the *Vāmana Purāṇa*, the first of which is adopted from the *Mahābhārata*⁹⁷ with a little modification. This verse⁹⁸ is the following—

Mānuṣasya tu pūrveṇa Krośa-mātre dvij-ottamāḥ |

Āpagā nāma vikhyātā nadī dvija-niṣevitā ||

-
90. III. 23.4; ed. Max Müller, Vol. II, p. 747,
 91. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index* Vol. I, s.v.
 92. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, s.v.
 93. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, s.v.
 94. *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 156.
 95. *ASI*, Vol. XIV, p. 89; see also Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 30.
 96. Sm. 15. 1-6.
 97. III. 81. 55-56.
 98. *Vmn.*, Sm. 15. 1.

Thus the holy river Āpagā which is situated within a distance of a *Krośa* in the east of the Mānuṣa-tīrtha is visited frequently by the Brāhmaṇas. It is further said in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* that if anybody offers on the bank of the river to the Brāhmaṇas *Śyāmaka* grain boiled in milk and moistened with ghee, he becomes free from sins.⁹⁹

Those who perform *śrāddha* on the bank of the river have undoubtedly their wishes fulfilled. The forefathers expect that their living descendants would offer them *tarpaṇa* on the bank of the Āpagā. The pilgrim offering here the ball of rice to the manes at noon in the month of Bhādra, especially on the Caturdaśī of the dark fortnight, attains liberation.¹⁰⁰ The *Mahābhārata* mentions some merits of this river which are not adopted in the *Vāmana Purāṇa*. It is said that, by offering feast to one Brāhmaṇa, one achieves the merit of feeding one crore of Brāhmaṇas.¹⁰¹ Bathing in this river, worshipping the forefathers and gods there and staying there for one night, the pilgrims achieve the merit of Agniṣṭoma sacrifice.¹⁰²

4. Gaṅgā-Mandākinī

The *Mahābhārata* mentions two Mandākinī rivers, one near Citrakūṭa¹⁰³ and the other in the Himalayan region.¹⁰⁴ The second one is associated with the Gaṅgā and came to be known as Gaṅgā Mandākinī. There are some literary reference to Mandākinī, a tributary or sub-tributary of the Gaṅgā.¹⁰⁵ The Mandākinī of the *Vikramorvaśī*¹⁰⁶ and the *Meghadūta*¹⁰⁷ is either the Gaṅgā before it

99. *Ibid.*, Sm. 15. 2.

100. *Ibid.*, Sm. 15.3-6.

101. *Mbh.*, III. 81.56.

102. *Ibid.*, III. 81.57.

103. III. 83.55; V. 109.9; XIII. 26,27.

104. *Ibid.*, XIII. 20.7

so= *paśyat kāñcana dvāraṁ dipyamānam=iva śrīyā /*
Mandākinīm ca nalinīm dhanadasya mahātmanah ||

105. *Raghuvamśa*, XIII. 48; *Kumārasambhava*, 1.29; II. 44; III. 65.

106. Nirṇayasāgara Press ed., Act IV, p. 87.

107. *Uttara*, 4.

descends on the plain or the Kali-Gaṅgā, known as Mandagin, a tributary of the Alakanandā.

It is said in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* that there was a great fight between the gods and the demons and their blood created a river resembling the Mandākinī.¹⁰⁸

It indicates nothing regarding its identity. The Mandākinī is again mentioned in the list of rivers that rise at the foot of the R̥kṣa.¹⁰⁹ But that river has no connection with Kurukṣetra. Moreover, the absence of the Mandākinī in the list of the Himalayan rivers¹¹⁰ suggests that the Mandākinī of Kurukṣetra is not an independent river, but a tributary of some other. The Mandākinī is further mentioned in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* in the story of Jyotiṣmat. Being desirous of a son, Jyotiṣmat, son of the Niṣadha King Vapuṣmat, practised penance on the bank of the Mandākinī.¹¹¹

5. Madhusravā

According to the R̥gvedic mythology, the highest step or place of Viṣṇu is the source of *madhu*¹¹². It is not unlikely that this river is associated with the R̥gvedic tradition. The Madhusravā is mentioned in the *Vāmana Purāṇa*¹¹³ as one of the holy rivers of Kurukṣetra only once, either because it lost its importance in the days of compilation of the *Vāmana Purāṇa* or because it was called by any other name. Cunningham identifies the Madhusravā river with the Madhusrava pool¹¹⁴ of Pṛthūdaka in the bed of the Sarasvatī. In that case, he refuses to accept it as a river.¹¹⁵ But this view is opposed by Bhargava who thinks that the Kauśikī of the *Mahābhārata* near Madhuvaṭī is called Madhusravā, probably

108. *Vmn.*, 9.50-

*Mandākinī vega nibhām vahantīm
pravartayanto bhayadām nadīm ca.*

109. *Ibid.*, 13. 25-28. Also see *Matsya Purāṇa*, 105. 10; 114. 25.

110. *Vmn.*, 13. 20-22.

111. *Ibid.*, 46. 44.

112. *R̥gveda*, 1. 154. 5-*Viṣṇoḥ pade parame madhva utsaḥ*.

113. *Vmn.*, Sm. 13. 6-8. There is a holy spot of the same name. See below.

114. *Vmn.*, Sm. 18. 31; *Mbh.*, Gita Press ed., III. 83. 151.

115. *ASI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 89 & 100.

because it ran through the Madhu forest.¹¹⁶ He further says that the Kauśikī Madhusravā is the lower Catang.¹¹⁷ The Cakradhara form of Viṣṇu is associated with this river.^{117a}

6. Vāsunadi

In the *Vāmana Purāṇa* two Vasu rivers are mentioned, one of which is the holy river of Kurukṣetra¹¹⁸ and the other rises at the foot of the Rkṣa.¹¹⁹ These two cannot be connected on account of their geographical location.

It is interesting to note that the Baṅgabāsī ed. of the *Vāmana Purāṇa* mentions Amlunadī¹²⁰ (v. 1. Ambunadī) in the place of the Vāsu of the critical ed. In the *Mahābhārata*, Sutīrtha, a holy place in Kurukṣetra, is said to be situated on the bank of the Ambumatī.¹²¹ In the *Vāmana Purāṇa*, Sutīrtha is placed between the Brahmāvarta-tīrtha and the Ambuvana.¹²² The Ambuvana may be a forest region on the bank of the Ambunadī. The Ambumatī may be identified with the Amśumatī of the *Rgveda*.¹²³ It is said that on the bank of the Amśumatī Indra killed the demon Kṛṣṇa.¹²⁴

116. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

117. *Loc. cit.*

117a. *Vmn.*, 63. 8.

118. *Ibid.*, Sm. 13. 6-8. It is difficult to identify it. See Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 48 note.

119. *Vmn.*, 13. 27.

120. *Ibid.*, Baṅgabāsī ed., 34.8.

121. *Mbh.*, Gita Press ed., III. 83.56-tato = 'mbumatyām dharma-jña Su-tīrthakam = anuttamam. The reading is different in the cr. ed.

122. *Vmn.*, Sm. 14. 39-42.

123. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, s. v.

124. *Rgveda*, VIII. 96. 13; *Atharvaveda*, I. 4. 1; see also Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p. 24, note. Amśumatī is sometimes believed to be the same as the Yamunā. Sometimes it is regarded as the ancient name of the Bhānumatī-Vadhūsarā-Duhān (cf. Bhargava, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50).

7. Kauśikī

The Kauśikī was possibly named after the sage Kuśika or Viśvāmitra, son of Kuśika¹²⁵ or the Viśvāmitras who are known as a family of the Kuśikas.¹²⁶

The hermitage of Kuśika was situated on the bank of the Kauśikī which destroys all sins and bathing in which gives the merit of the Rājasūya sacrifice.¹²⁷ The pilgrims are advised to stay on the bank of the Kauśikī for one month with the object of earning the merit which is equivalent to that of the Aśvamedha sacrifice.¹²⁸ The Kauśikī joined the Aruṇā and the confluence was considered to be a holy place.¹²⁹

Brief information regarding the Kauśikī is available in the Vāmana Purāṇa. Issuing from the foot of the Himalaya¹³⁰, the pāpa-nāśinī Kauśikī flows through Kurukṣetra¹³¹ touching the holy places like the Sambhava-tīrtha¹³² and at last joins the Dṛṣadvatī making the confluence a holy spot.¹³³ Prahlāda, in the course of his pilgrimage, visited this river.¹³⁴ On the bank of the Kauśikī there is the tortoise form of Viṣṇu (*Kūrma-vapu-dharam*). The pilgrims take bath in the river, observe fast, worship the god and offer gifts to the Brāhmaṇas.¹³⁵

The Kauśikī in Kurukṣetra is the Kosi which flows by Almora and Ramnagar in North Western U.P.¹³⁶ According to Cunningham, the confluence of the Kauśikī and the Dṛṣadvatī exists near the village of Balu on the Rākṣi river, 9 miles to the west of

125. *Rgveda*, III. 33.5; ed. Max Müller, Vol. II, p. 831.

126. *Rgveda*, III. 26, 1 & 3; 29.15; 30.20; 42.9; 53. and 10.

127. *Mbh.*, III. 82., 123-24.

128. *Ibid.*, III. 82., 123-24.

129. *Ibid.*, III. 82. 135.

130. *Vmn.*, 13. 20-22.

131. *Ibid.*, Sm. 13. 7.

132. *Ibid.*, Sm. 13. 18.

133. *Ibid.*, Sm. 15. 57.

134. *Ibid.*, 52. 5.

135. *Ibid.*, 52. 5-6; *Kūrma Purāṇa*, II. 36. 36-37.

136. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 42 note; see also Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 91 and 226.

Karnal and 17 miles to the south of Thanesar.¹³⁷ The Dr̥ṣadvatī that joins the Kauśikī near Madhu-vaṭī is thought to be a different stream by Bhargava¹³⁸, who further says that Madhusravā is the name of that part of the Kauśikī which flows through the Madhuvana.¹³⁹

8. Dr̥ṣadvatī

In the *R̥gveda*,¹⁴⁰ the Dr̥ṣadvatī is mentioned with the Āpayā (Āpagā) and the Sarasvatī as a holy river for the worship of Agni. In the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*¹⁴¹ and the *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*¹⁴², the Dr̥ṣadvatī and the Sarasvatī are mentioned as specially suitable for sacrifices.

Regarding the holiness of the Dr̥ṣadvatī, it is said in the *Mahābhārata*¹⁴³ that by bathing in that river and offering *tarpaṇa* to the gods, one may attain the merit of the Agniṣṭoma and Atirātra sacrifices. It is said further in the epic that on its bank were situated five famous hermitages, viz., Nyagrodha, Puṇya, Pañcāla, Dālbyaghoṣa and Dālbya. The epic eulogy of the Dr̥ṣadvatī is followed in the *Purāṇa*¹⁴⁴. The *matsya Purāṇa* says that Adhiṣṭma Kṛṣṇa performed a sacrifice on its bank for two years.¹⁴⁵

The *deva-nadī* Dr̥ṣadvatī¹⁴⁷ rises from the foot of the Himalayas¹⁴⁸ and forms the western boundary of Madhyadeśa¹⁴⁹ and

137. *ASI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 88, 98.

138. Bhargava, *Op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

139. See above.

140. *R̥gveda*, III. 23.4; see above.

141. XXV. 10. 13.

142. XXIV. 6.6.

143. *Mbh.*, III. 81. 73.

144. *Ibid*, Gita Press ed., III. 90. 11-12. These verses are omitted in the Cr. ed.

145. *Vmn.*, Sm. 15.46—

Dr̥ṣadvatyām naraḥ snātva tarpayitvā ca devatāḥ |
Agniṣṭom-Ātirātrābhyām phalam vindati mānavah ||
See Padma Purāṇa, 111.12.88.

146. *matsya Purāṇa*, 50.67; 114.22.

147. *Vmn.*, Sm. 12.9; *mnusmṛti*, 11.17.

148. *Vmn.*, 13.21; Sachau, *Alberuni's India*. Vol. I, Ch. 25; *matsya Purāṇa*, 14.22.

149. *manusmṛti*, II. 17.

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the southern boundary of Kurukṣetra.¹⁶⁰ This stony river,¹⁶¹ as the etymology of its name suggests, runs parallel to the Sarasvatī for sometimes and then joins it. As known from the *Vāyu Purāṇa*,¹⁶² the original name of the Dṛṣadvatī was Ratnāvati; but it came to be known as Dṛṣadvatī in the Kali-age. The town called Vāyupura was situated on its bank. The river flows through the Naimiṣ-āraṇya.¹⁶³

There are many ladies bearing the name Dṛṣadvatī, e.g., the queen of Samhataśva,¹⁶⁴ wife of Haryaśva, son of Vasumat,¹⁶⁵ the wife of Viśvāmitra and mother of Aṣṭaka,¹⁶⁶ the queen of Divo-dāsa and mother of Pratardana,¹⁶⁷ a queen of Uśinara and mother of Śibi.¹⁶⁸

But it is difficult to say whether these persons were associated with the river of the same name. There is a controversy as regards the identity of this river. The first view is that the Dṛṣadvatī is identical with Citang (v. 1. Citrang or Cantang) which flows parallel to the Sarasvatī.¹⁶⁹

But this view is opposed by Bhargava¹⁶⁰ who says that the Dṛṣadvatī is called Catang after her union with the latter outside the holy tract of Kurukṣetra somewhere in the south-west. He further says that the Catang runs through the middle of Kurukṣetra.

150. *Vmn.*, Sm. 1.1 and Sm. 12.9,

151. *Aedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 374.

152. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 59. 127-28—

dharma-śāl = ahi bahutā Vāyu-sthāne mahā-pure |
Ratnāvati svarṇa-mayī Gaṅgā C = amṛta-vāhinī ||
Kalau Dṛṣadvatī nāma mahā-pātaka-nāśinī |
Vāyunā sthāpitam hy = etac = chāsanaṁ pāpa-nāśanam ||

153. *Ibid.*, 1.14.

154. *Ibid.*, 88.64; *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*, III. 63.65.

155. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88.76.

156. *Ibid.*, 91.103; *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*, III.66.75.

157. *Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*, III. 67.67.

158. *Ibid.*, III. 74.18 and 20; *matsya Purāṇa*, 48.16-18; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 99. 19-21.

159. Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 51 : *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, p. 26; Law, *Geographical Essays*, p. 91; Sircar. *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, p. 24.

160. Bhargava, *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

The second view is of Cunnigham¹⁶¹ who identifies the Dṛṣadvatī with the Rākṣī which runs 17 miles to the south-west of Thanesar, on the ground that the Kauśikī-saṅgama still exists on the Rākṣī. But this view is also refuted by Bhargava¹⁶² who says that the Rākṣī is modern Rākā, which joined the Dṛṣadvatī in the south-eastern corner of the holy tract in later days. The third view is that the Dṛṣadvatī is identical with the Ghaggar¹⁶³. Bhargava does not accept it, because the Ghaggar flows to the north of the Sarasvatī.¹⁶⁴ D.C. Sircar also regards this view as unjustifiable.¹⁶⁵

Bhargava suggests the existence of another Dṛṣadvatī in connection with the Phalakī-vana and the Kauśikī.¹⁶⁶ He says that, in the *Mahābhārata*, the Dṛṣadvatī is called Raupyā.¹⁶⁷ The second Dṛṣadvatī is also known as Hiraṇyavatī in later days, probably to distinguish it from the Raupyā-Dṛṣadvatī.

9. Hiraṇvatī

In the *Mahābhārata* the Hiraṇvatī is mentioned as holy river of Kurukṣetra.¹⁶⁸ In the *Vāmana Purāṇa* this river of Kurukṣetra is associated with the Rudrākṣa form of Viṣṇu.¹⁶⁹

There is one Hiraṇvatī on which stood the śāla grove of the Mallas and the Upavattana of Kuśinārā.¹⁷⁰ According to B. C. Law, it is the little Gaṇḍak and the same as the Ajitavatī near Kuśinārā, which flows through the district of Gorakhpur about eight miles to the west of the great Gaṇḍak and falls into the Gogrā (Sarayū)¹⁷¹. Cunningham also identified it with the

161. ASI, Vol. XIV, p. 88; see also Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 130.

162. Bhargava, *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

163. Das, *Rgvedic India*, p. 71; JASB, Vol. VI, p. 181; N. L. Dey, *Op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

164. Bhargava, *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

165. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 42.

166. Bhargava, *Op. cit.* pp. 57-58.

167. *Mbh.*, III. 129.7.

168. *Ibid.*, V. 149.73-

āsādyā saritam puṇyām Kurukṣetre Hiraṇvatīm
Sūpatirtham śuci-jalām śarkrā-paṅka-varjitaṁ |

See also V. 157.1.

169. *Vmn.*, 63.32.

170. *Dighanikāya*, 2. 137; see SBF, Vol. XI, p. 85.

171. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 37.

Gaṇḍakī.¹⁷² But in the context of Kurukṣetra this identification has no relevance.

The Hiraṇvatī flowing through Kurukṣetra is a river that issues from the foot of the Himālaya.¹⁷³ Badarī is said to be situated on this river.^{173a} Both the Hiraṇvatī and Gaṇḍakī, being mentioned in the same list of the Himalayan rivers¹⁷⁴, cannot be identified with each other. It is said in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* that Nandayantī, daughter of Yakṣa Añjana, threw herself into the Hiraṇvatī in fright from a monkey and was carried to a spot wherefrom she alone marched to Śrīkaṇṭha on the bank of the Yamunā.¹⁷⁵ So the Hiraṇvatī seems to be not far from Śrīkaṇṭha.

There is a legend in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* which helps us to locate this river. Viśvakarman, in the form of a monkey, kept Devavatī in a holy hermitage in Śrīkaṇṭha on the southern bank of the Kālindī or Yamunā.¹⁷⁶ He dived into the Kālindī and was carried by the swift current to Śivideśa.¹⁷⁷ On his way back to Śrīkaṇṭha, the monkey met Añjana with his daughter Nandayantī whom the monkey took to be Devavatī. Then he ran away with the lady who fell down into the Hiraṇvatī river out of fear and Añjana saw it.¹⁷⁹ So the Hiraṇvatī would run through the tract between the Yamunā and Śivideśa. There was a hill called Hiraṇyaśṭhiva which formed the boundary of Plakṣa.¹⁸⁰ It is not quite impossible that the Hiraṇvatī with that portion of the Dṛśadvatī which flows through the Phalakivana and says that this river was known as Hirṇvatī in later days.¹⁸¹

172. *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 453.

173. *Vmn.*, 13. 20.

173a. Cf. N.L. Dey, *Op. cit.*, p.15. For Badari, see the Dhavala inscription in *JASB*, 1841, p. 821.

174. *Vmn.*, 13. 20-22.

175. *Ibid.*, 38. 45-47.

176. *Vmn.*, 38. 9-10.

177. *Ibid.*, 38. 12. This Śivideśa is unidentified and should not be confused with the land of Śivas of the *Rgveda* which had capital at Śibipura, modern shorkot in the Jhang District of the Punjab. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 160, note.

178. *Vmn.*, 38. 14-17.

179. *Bhagavata Purāṇa* V. 20. 4.

180. Bhargava. *Op. cit.*, p. 58.

181. See above.

OBITUARY

Late Dr. S. Radha Krishnan

The All India Kashiraj Trust express their deep sense of sorrow at the passing away of Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the former President of India, on the 17th April, 1975, at the age of 85. Dr. Radhakrishnan's life was a life of selfless dedication to the cause of humanity. He was a successful teacher, orator, writer, educationalist, moralist, philosopher, humanist, diplomat, statesman, ambassador and President of the Republic of India. Search for truth and goodness was his life long mission. He attached greatest importance to these two precious human values—truth and goodness. In an essay on Mahatma Gandhi he wrote "The greatest fact in the story of man on earth is not his material achievements, the empires he has built and broken, but the growth of his soul from age to age in his search for truth and goodness".

He was the most renowned philosopher of our time. Though he has been considered as a great exponent of Indian philosophy, yet his philosophy was neither of the east nor of the west, it was a synthesis of both these systems of philosophy. Moreover, his philosophy, like that of Vivekanand, was blended with economics and man's material welfare. He symbolised the ancient wisdom of India, his philosophy permeated his life. His politics represented the politics preached by the ancient sages of India, for according to him the aim of the art and science of politics was to promote human welfare and happiness.

President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan had a great affection for the Chairman of the All-India Kashiraj Trust, Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh and evinced a deep interest in the Purāṇa-project of the Kashiraj Trust. Whenever he met the Maharaja or wrote to him he invariably inquired about the progress of the Purāṇa-work and specially about the progress of the critical edition of the Matsya Purāṇa being then edited by Dr. V. Raghavan. Whenever he visited Varanasi he generally stayed in the Nadesar House as guest of the Maharaja.

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Dr. Radhakrishnan, as ambassador, procured for the Kashiraj Trust, the Russian translation of the Rāmācharitamānasa. During his vice-chancellorship of the Banaras Hindu University a great intimacy developed between him and the Kashi-Naresh.

Dr. Radhakrishnan's passing away has created a void which is most difficult to be filled. May his soul rest in eternal peace.

—Ramesh Chandra Dey

OBITUARY

Late Prof. W. Norman Brown

We express our profound grief on the sad demise of Dr. W. Norman Brown, Professor Emeritus of Sanskrit at the University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A., on April 22, 1975 at the age of 82. He was one of America's greatest Indologist and Sanskrit scholars. He had a great love for Sanskrit and Indian culture. He spoke of Sanskrit with affection and reverence.

His association with India dates from his early childhood when he lived with his missionary parents in Jabalpore, Madhya Pradesh. When in America, he visited India several times to study Sanskrit, Jain literature and Indian paintings. In 1954-55 he visited this country as a Fulbright scholar.

Dr. Norman Brown was appointed the first Chairman of the Pennsylvania University's South Asia Regional Studies Department in 1947, this Department devoted exclusively to the study of the Indian sub-continent. He also became the first President of the American Institute of Indian Studies in 1961, behind the establishment of which he was the driving force. The American Institute of Indian Studies, Poona, published in 1965 as its first Publication, the beautiful edition of the *Mahimnastava* (Praise of Śiva's Greatness) edited, translated and presented in illustrations by Prof. Norman Brown.

"There are few Americans" wrote Dr. M. Franda in the Hindustan Times, "Who Knew India as intimately as he did from his knowledge gained from years of language study in Indian institutions, from his extensive travels throughout the subcontinent and from his friendship with Indian leaders, established during the 1920s and 1930s when he was one of the lone American companions for India's independence".

I first met Dr. Norman Brown in 1964 in Delhi Session of the International Congress of Orientalist and acquainted him with our Purāṇa project. During his visit to Varanasi in January, 1969, for which he had always a special affection, he also paid a visit to the Purāṇa Department of the Kashiraj Trust alongwith

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some members of the American Institute of Indian Studies, Poona, and American Academy, Ramnagar, Varanasi. He met His Highness, Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh and showed keen interest in discussion with him on the Purāṇa project of the Trust. He wrote the following remarks in our 'Visitors' Book' :

"The work of editing the texts of the Purāṇas, with English and Hindi translations is one of the important projects in the study of India's tradition. The volume of work involved in collecting, selecting and collating manuscripts is enormous, but is only a beginning. The judgement required to unravel the relationship of the manuscripts, the fine discrimination needed to determine the correct reading, and now, as in the case of the works being edited here, the mastery of other languages than the original essential to the making of the translations, all call for a rare combination of abilities".

These precious words of Dr. Norman Brown will serve as an advice and guidance for the scholars working in this important field. May we cherish his sacred memory for ever which may inspire and guide us in our onerous task and heavy responsibility.

—A. S. Gupta

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(January-June., 1975)

PURĀṆA-WORK

Varāha Purāṇa

For the critical edition of the Varāha Purāṇa we have completed collation of the 19 manuscripts, including the Bengali MS. from the Sanskrit college, Calcutta, and the Grantha MS. (microfilm). K. 6807, from the India Office Library, London. In spite of our best efforts we have not been able to procure the Bengali MS. from the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, the Kannada MS. from Udipi, Mysore and any Newari MS. from Nepal, as has already been mentioned before.

We had expected that there must be some Oriya script MS. of the Varāha-Purāṇa in Orissa, and after our correspondence to different institutions in Orissa we came to know that there is such a manuscript in the Utkal University, Bhuvaneshwar. So we requested its Librarian to inform us about the nature of the manuscript and send us a transcript copy of the first two pages and the last two pages and the last colophon and the post-colophon statement from the said manuscript. We are very much thankful to the Librarian for his promptly acceding to our request. But from the copy of the first and the last two pages and of the colophon received from him it is clear that the said manuscript is not of the Sanskrit text of the Varāha Purāṇa, but of some Oriyā Varāha Purāṇa written in the colloquial Oriya language, and the manuscript itself was copied in 1290 sāla (i. e. in the last decade of the 19th century); it is a palm-leaf manuscript. It is in the form of interlocution between Sage Nārada and Īśvara or God Śiva, which took place in the Naimiśa forest, while the Sanskrit Varāha-Purāṇa is in the form of the interlocution between Goddess Bhūmi and God Varāha.

This Oriya manuscript of the Varāha-Purāṇa may serve the purpose of the external evidence or testimonia for the purpose of the critical edition of the Varāha Purāṇa.

We would like to thank Shri Akbar Ali, Rajyapal, of Orissa, for his kind help and co-operation given to the Trust for getting necessary information regarding the Oriya MS.

सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जनवरी-जून १९७५)

वराहपुराणम्

वराहपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणस्य निमित्तमस्माभिः एकोन-विंशतिहस्तलेखानां पाठसंवादकार्यं समाप्तम् । एषु हस्तलेखेषु एको हस्तलेखः कलकत्ता-संस्कृतकालेज इत्यतः प्राप्तः वङ्गलिपिहस्तलेखः आसीत् तथा 'इण्डिया आफिस लाइब्रेरी लण्डन' इत्यतः प्राप्तः के० ६८०७ संख्याकस्य-ग्रन्थलिपिहस्तलेखस्य माइक्रोफिल्मप्रतिरपि आसीत् । यथा पूर्वं सूचितमस्माकं सुप्रयत्नानन्तरमपि अस्माभिः कलकत्ता नगरस्य वङ्गीयसाहित्य-परिषदः वङ्गीयलिपिहस्तलेखः, उडुपि (मैसूर) मठस्थितः कन्नडलिपि-हस्तलेखः, तथा नेपालदेशात् नेवारीलिपिहस्तलेखः न लब्धाः ।

अस्माभिः आशासितं यत् उत्कलप्रदेशे वराहपुराणस्य कोऽपि उत्कललिपिहस्तलेखः अवश्यमेव वर्तते । बहुभिः संस्थाभिः सह अस्माकं पत्राचारानन्तरं ज्ञातमासीद् यद् भुवनेश्वरनगरस्थे उत्कलविश्वविद्यालये एको हस्तलेखोऽस्ति । अस्माभिः अस्य विश्वविद्यालयस्य पुस्तकालयाध्यक्षः अस्य हस्तलेखस्य स्वरूपविषये सूचनार्थम् आद्ययोः अन्तिमयोश्च द्वयोः द्वयोः पत्रयोः, अन्तिमपुष्पिकाभागस्य, तदनन्तरवर्तिभागस्य च प्रतिलिपिप्रेषणाय प्रार्थितः । पुस्तकालयस्याक्षमहोदयः तत्कालमेव अस्माकं प्रार्थनां पूरितवान् एतदर्थं वयं तस्य कृतज्ञाः स्मः । परन्तु आद्ययोः अन्तयोश्च द्वयोः द्वयोः पत्रयोः पुष्पिकायाश्च प्रतिलिपिभिरिदं स्पष्टमस्ति यदयं हस्तलेखः संस्कृत-वराहस्यपुराणस्य न वर्तते अपितु लौकिकउत्कलभाषायां निबद्धस्य कस्यापि-उत्कललिपिवराहपुराणस्य हस्तलेखोऽस्ति । एष हस्तलेखः १२६० 'साल' वर्षे एकोनविंशशताब्दद्या अन्तिमे (दशके) लिखितः । एष ताडपत्रे लिखितो हस्त-लेखोऽस्ति । अस्मिन् हस्तलेखे नैमिषारण्ये संभूतः नारद-ईश्वर-संवादोऽस्ति । संस्कृतवराहपुराणं तु भूमि-वराह-संवादरूपेणास्ति । एष उत्कलहस्तलिपि-लिखितं वराहपुराणं वाराहपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणस्य निमित्तं अन्तःसाक्ष्यरूपेण प्रयुक्तं भवितुं शक्यते ।

वयं उत्कलप्रदेशस्य राज्यपाल श्री अकवर अलीमहोदयं प्रति कृतज्ञाः स्मः । अनेन महानुभावेन उत्कललिपिहस्तलेखस्य विवरणप्राप्तये न्यासाय साहाय्यं सहयोगं च प्रदत्तम् ।

The work of constituting the text, of preparing the critical apparatus, and of the English and Hindi translation of the constituted Sanskrit text is in progress, and we hope to send the matter to the Press by December.

Purāṇa-Pāṭha and Pravacana

According to the fixed schedule (vide *Purāṇa* III-2, pp.401f) the following Purāṇas were recited in the morning and the pravacana on them given in the evening:—

1. *Kālikā-Purāṇa* from Feb. 12 to Feb. 20, 1975 in the Sumeru temple. The reciter was Pt. Govind Shastri Kelkar and the discourses were given by Pt. Narain Shastri Kelkar.
1. *Śiva-Purāṇa* from March 1 to 11, 1975 in the Dharmaśālā on the bank of the Gaṅgā, where the Śiva-temple is situated. The reciter was Pt. Govind Shastri Kelkar and the discourses were given by Pt. Sudhakar Dikshita.
3. *The Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa* from April 12 to 20, 1975 in the Janakpur temple. The reciter was Pt. Ramanugraha Sharma, and the discourses were given by Pt. Ramalakshmaṇa Āchārya and Pt. Thakur Prasad Dvivedi.

Veda Pārāyaṇa

The complete texts of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, Āpastamba-Śakhā, Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, Taittirīya Āraṇyaka and the Taittirīya Upaniṣad were recited from memory by Pt. Varadaraj Sharma Ghanapathi in the Vyāsa temple of Ramanagar Fort from 12th February to 26th February, 1975 (Māgha, Śukla 1-15). At the successful conclusion of the Pārāyaṇa the dakṣiṇā of Rs. 1001) along with the ratna-kañkaṇa (Gold-bracelet) was given to the reciter and a dakṣiṇā of Rs. 101 was given to the śrotā (listener), Pt. Ramachandra Sharma Ghanapathi.

Scholars who visited the Purāṇa Department

During this period Dr. V. Raghavan, and Dr. (Mrs) Elik S. Zannas of Athens, Greece visited our Purāṇa Department and evinced great interest in its Purāṇa work.

पाठनिर्धारणकार्यं, पाठान्तरविवरणनिर्माणकार्यं, समीक्षितसंस्करणस्य
आङ्गलभाषायां हिन्दीभाषायां च अनुवादकार्यं संपाद्यमानानि वर्तन्ते ।
आशाऽस्ति यद् दिसम्बरमासे पुराणमिदं प्रकाशनार्थं मुद्रणालये दास्यते ।

पुराणपाठः प्रवचनं च

नियतपरम्परानुसारतः (द्र० पुराणम् ३.२ पृ० ४०१ इत्यादि)
अधोनिर्दिष्टानां पुराणानां प्रातःकाले पाठोऽभूत् तद्विषये सायंकाले
प्रवचनं चाभूत् ।

१. कालिकापुराणम्

फरवरी १२, १९७५ दिनाङ्कमारभ्य फरवरी २०, १९७५ दिनाङ्कं
यावदस्य पुराणस्य पाठः सुमेरुमन्दिरे संवृत्तः । पुराणपाठकर्ता च पण्डित-
गोविन्दशास्त्रिकेलकरमहोदय आसीत् प्रवचनकर्ता पण्डितनारायणशास्त्री-
केलकर आसीत् ।

२. शिवपुराणम्

गंगातटे स्थिते धर्मशालायामवस्थिते शिवमन्दिरे मार्च १-११
दिनाङ्केषु अस्य पुराणस्य पाठः प्रवचनं चाभूताम् । पण्डितगोविन्दशास्त्रि-
केलकरमहोदयेन पाठः कृतः पण्डितसुधाकरदीक्षितेन प्रवचनं च कृतम् ।

३. अध्यात्मरामायणम्

अप्रैल १२-२०, १९७५ दिनाङ्केषु जनकपुरमन्दिरे अस्य पाठोऽभूत् ।
पाठकर्ता पण्डितरामानुप्रहृष्टर्मा आसीत् । अस्य विषये पण्डितरामलक्ष्मणा-
चार्येण पण्डितठाकुरप्रसादद्विवेदिना च प्रवचनं कृतम् ।

वेदपारायणम्

रामनगरदुर्गस्थिते व्यासमन्दिरे, आपस्तम्बीयशाखायाः तैत्तिरीय-
ब्राह्मण-तैत्तिरीयारण्यक-तैत्तिरीयोपनिषत्सम्बन्धितस्य कृष्णयजुर्वेदस्य स्मृत्या-
धारेण संपूर्णं पारायणं माघशुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथिमारभ्य पूर्णिमापर्यन्तं (फरवरी
१२-२६ १९७५) पण्डित वरदराजशर्मघनपाठिमहोदयेन कृतम् । पारायण-
समाप्तौ रत्नकङ्कणयुता १००१) रूप्यकाणां दक्षिणा काशीनरेश-
हस्ताक्षरितेन प्रमाणपत्रेण सह पारायणकर्त्रे प्रदत्ता । पाठश्रोत्रे पण्डितराम-
चन्द्रशर्मघनपाठिमहोदयाय १०१) रूप्यकाणां दक्षिणा प्रदत्ता ।

पुराणविभागे आगता विद्वांसः

अस्मिन् काले डा० वी० राघवन् महोदयः तथा यूनानदेशीय-एथेन्स
नगरवास्तव्या श्रीमती डा० एलिकी एस० जनान्स महोदया पुराणविभागे
आगतौ । ताभ्यां अस्मिन् कार्ये स्वहचिः प्रदर्शिता ।

ACTIVITIES OF MAHARAJA BANARAS VIDYAMANDIR TRUST

Maṅgalotsava

The maṅgalotsava was celebrated this year on April 1-3, 1975 (Tuesday-Thursday) from 7 P. M. to 9 P. M. under the patronage of Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh in the Ramnagar Palace. On the first two days the programme of the vocal and instrumental music was gone through, which was organised by the students and staff of the Music college, B. H. U. On the third day a programme of dancing and music was performed by the students and staff of the Women's College, B. H. U. Both the programmes were very interesting and served as good cultural entertainment to the audience.

Teaching of Nyāya

Under the auspices of this Trust Nyāya system of Indian Philosophy is taught to a number of deserving students of the Vidya Mandir Pāṭhaśālā, including Maharajakumara Shri Anant Narain Singh under the supervision of Pt. Rajeshwar Shastri Dravida.

Maharaja Banaras Vidya Mandir Museum

The Museum run by the Maharaja Banaras Vidya Mandir Trust and located in the Ramnagar Fort is visited by a large number of Indian and foreign tourists. On Sundays and Mondays elephant-rides are also provided. A special motor launch tour of Gaṅgā and its ghats is arranged, by prior appointments, for the tourists.

An illustrated guide book is also available for sale in the Museum.

ACTIVITIES OF MAHARAJA UDIT NARAIN SINGH MĀNASA PRACHĀRA NIDHI.

Pārāyaṇa of the Rāmacaritamānasa.

The Navāhna pārāyaṇa of the Rāmacaritamānasa was performed from May 12 to 19 (Vaiśākha, Śukla 1-9) in the temple of Śrī Rāma at Chakia, District Varanasi. Mass recitation of the Rāmacaritamānasa was also held in the morning for nine days.

For all these nine days the Kathā of the Rāmacaritamānasa was also narrated in the Kālī temple of Chakia. His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh attended the Kathā all these nine days. Brahmins were fed on the conclusion of Kathā.

महाराज बनारस विद्यामन्दिरन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम् मङ्गलोत्सवः

अस्मिन् वर्षे तत्रभवतां काशीनरेशानां डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह-महोदयानां संरक्षणे रामगरदुर्गे अप्रैल १-३, १९७५ दिनाङ्केषु (मङ्गल-बुध-बृहस्पतिदिनेषु) सायंकाले ७ वादनतः ६ वादनसमयेषु मङ्गलोत्सवः सम्पन्नः । प्रथमदिवसे द्वितीयदिवसे च कण्ठसंगीतस्य वाद्यसंगीतस्य च कार्यक्रमः संपन्नः । एष कार्यक्रमः काशीहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयीयस्य संगीत-महाविद्यालयस्य अध्यापकैः छात्रैश्च संपादितः । तृतीयदिवसे नृत्यस्य संगीतस्य च कार्यक्रमः काशीहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयमहिलामहाविद्यालयस्य अध्यापिकाभिः छात्राभिश्च संपादितः । उभावपि कार्यक्रमौ अतीवरोचकौ उपस्थितजनानां सांस्कृतिकमनोविनोदकारकौ च आस्ताम् ।

न्यायशास्त्रस्य अध्यापनम्

अनेन न्यासेन न्यायशास्त्रस्याध्यापनस्य व्यवस्था क्रियते । न्याय-शास्त्रपाठशालायां महाराजकुमारेण श्रीअनन्तनारायणसिंहेन सह विद्या-मन्दिरपाठशालाया वहवः योग्याः छात्राः न्यायशास्त्रस्य अध्ययनं कुर्वन्ति । अस्याः पाठशालायाः पण्डितराजराजेश्वरशास्त्रि द्रविडमहोदयः निदेशकोऽस्ति ।

महाराज बनारस विद्यामन्दिर संग्रहालयः

महाराज बनारस विद्यामन्दिर न्यासेन संचालिते रामनगरदुर्गस्थिते संग्रहालये वहवः भारतीया वैदेशिकाश्च यात्रिणः अवलोकनार्थमागच्छन्ति । रविवासरे सोमवासरे च हस्त्यारोहणस्यापि व्यवस्था क्रियते । गङ्गानद्यास्तद्-घट्टानां च अवलोकार्थं पूर्वसूचनाद्वारा यात्रिणां कृते मोटरनौकायानस्य अपि व्यवस्था क्रियते ।

संग्रहालये विक्रयार्थं सचित्रा निदर्शनपुस्तिकाऽपि वर्तते ।

महाराज उदितनारायणसिंह मानसप्रचारनिधेः कार्यविवरणम्

रामचरितमानसस्य पारायणम्

वैशाखशुक्लप्रतिपत्तिथिमारभ्य नवमीपर्यन्तं (मई १२-१६, १९७५) वाराणसीजनपदस्य चकियानगरस्थे श्रीराममन्दिरे रामचरितमानसस्य नवाह्नपारायणं संपन्नम् । नवसु दिवसेषु प्रातःकाले सामूहिकपाठः संपन्नः । नवसु दिवसेषु सायंकाले रामचरितमानसस्य कथा सम्पन्ना जाता । कथा-वसरे तत्रभवन्तः काशीनरेश डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदया यथापूर्वं प्रतिदिनं नियमितरूपेण उपस्थिता आसन् । कथासमाप्तौ ब्राह्मणभोजनस्यापि व्यवस्था आसीत् ।

ACTIVITIES OF MAHARAJA KĀSHINARESH DHARMA- KĀRYA NIDHI

The following institutions are run by this Trust:—

1. Maharaja Balwant Singh Degree College

This college at Gangapur is run by this Trust. It is affiliated to the Gorakhpur University and imparts education in Arts up to the Degree classes. The discipline and the results of the college have been excellent. In the examination of this year (1975) 72 student of B.A. Part I and 39 students of B. A. Part II will appear.

2. Raja Manasa Ram Law College, Raja Talab

This college was started from Nov. 23, 1974 (Akṣaya Navamī tithi) as has already been mentioned in the last review. It is imparting education in law with a view to prepare lawyers who can work in the legal field with a sense of service to the needy.

3. Maharaja Ramaratna Kunwari Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā.

As mentioned previously, the Pāṭhaśālā was established in 1923. It imparts Sanskrit education in the traditional way. It prepares students for the Sanskrit examinations, upto the Uttara Madhyamā, of the Sanskrit University, Varanasi. The Pāṭhaśālā is running in the Fort. This year one student in Prathamā, one in the Pūrvamadhyamā and two in the Uttara-madhyamā have appeared in their examinations. The results have not yet been declared.

Hindutva Magazine

The Dharmakārya Nidhi Trust donates Rs. 4,000 yearly towards the publication of the *Hindutva* which is published monthly in English under the auspices of the *Viśva Hindu Dharma Sammelana*. A special issue of this periodical on Nepal has been published in May on the auspicious occasion of the coronation of His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikrama Shah held in February last.

Sammelan's Deigation to the coronation ceremony of His Majesty King Birendra of Nepal.

The Viśva Hindu Dharma Sammelan, of which H. H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh is the President, decided to send a delegation of Pandits of Varanasi to Nepal on the auspicious occasion of the coronation of His Majesty King Birendra. The

महाराजकाशिनरेशधर्मकार्यनिधेः कार्यविवरणम्

अनेन न्यासेन अधोनिर्दिष्टाः संस्थाः संचाल्यन्ते—

१. महाराजबलवन्तसिंहमहाविद्यालयः गङ्गापुर, वाराणसी

गोरखपुरविश्वविद्यालयेन संबद्धो वाराणसीमण्डलस्य गङ्गापुरस्थाने स्थितः एषः महाविद्यालयः स्नातककक्षानां शिक्षाप्रदानं करोति । अस्य महाविद्यालयस्य अनुशासनं परीक्षाफलं च उत्कृष्टे स्तः । अस्य १९७५ वर्षस्य भाविन्यां परीक्षायां बी०ए० प्रथमभागस्य ७२ छात्राः, बी०ए० द्वितीय भागस्य च ३९ छात्राः सम्मिलिताः भविष्यन्ति ।

२. राजा मनसाराम विधिविद्यालयः, राजातालाब

यथा पूर्वकार्यविवरणे सूचितं एष महाविद्यालयः अक्षयनवमीतः (२३ नवम्बर १९७४ दिनाङ्के) प्रारब्धः । अनेन महाविद्यालयेन शिक्षिता विधिज्ञाः साहाय्यार्हजनेभ्यः सेवाभावनया कार्यं कुर्वन्तु इति भावनया एष महाविद्यालयः विधिशास्त्रस्य शिक्षाप्रदानं करोति ।

३. महारानी रामरत्नकुँवरि संस्कृत पाठशाला, रामनगर

यथा पूर्वं सूचितमेषा पाठशाला १९२३ ईसवीये वर्षे स्थापिता आसीत् । एषा पाठशाला परम्परानुसारं संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य उत्तर-मध्यमापरीक्षापर्यन्तं शिक्षाप्रदानं करोति । पाठशाला रामनगरदुर्गे अवस्थिता अस्ति । अस्मिन् वर्षे प्रथमापरीक्षायामेकः छात्रः, पूर्वमध्यमापरीक्षायामेकः छात्रः उत्तरमध्यमापरीक्षायां च द्वौ छात्रौ प्रविष्टा बभूवुः । अद्यावधि परीक्षाफलं घोषितं नास्ति ।

‘हिन्दुत्व’ पत्रिका

विश्वहिन्दुधर्मसम्मेलनस्य संरक्षणे आँग्लभाषायां प्रतिमासं प्रकाशितायै ‘हिन्दुत्व’ नाम्न्यै पत्रिकायै प्रकाशनव्ययार्थं महाराजकाशिनरेशधर्म-कार्यनिधिन्यासेन चतुर्णां सहस्राणां रूप्यकाणां वार्षिकी सहायता प्रदीयते । अस्याः पत्रिकाया एको अङ्कः गते मई मासे ‘नेपाल’ विशेषाङ्करूपेण प्रकाशितो जातः । एष विशेषाङ्कः गते फरवरीमासे सम्पन्नस्य तत्र भवतां नेपाल-नरेशानां श्रीवीरेन्द्रविक्रमशाहदेवानां शुभाभिषेकस्य अभिनन्दनरूपेण प्रकाशितः आसीत् ।

नेपालनरेशानामभिषेके विश्वहिन्दुधर्मसम्मेलनस्य प्रतिनिधयः

तत्र भवन्तः काशिनरेशा डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह महोदया विश्वहिन्दुधर्मसम्मेलनस्य अध्यक्षः सन्ति । तत्र भवतां नेपालाधिपतिनां श्रीवीरेन्द्रविक्रमशाहदेवानां राज्याभिषेकस्य शुभे अवसरे विश्वहिन्दुधर्मसम्मेल-नेन काशीनगर्याः पण्डितानां एकं प्रतिनिधिमण्डलं तत्र प्रेषणार्थं निश्चितम् ।

delegation consisting of the General Secretary of the Sammelan, Prof. S. L. Dar and three Pandits including the Mahanta of the Kashi Viśveśvara temple from Varanasi reached Kathmandu (Nepal) on the 22nd Feb., 1975. According to the instructions from the authorities on the 23rd Feb. the delegation deposited the presents for His Majesty in Palace Office for His Majesty's perusal. The presents consisted of an ivory casket, which the Sammelan's President Kashineresh Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh had presented and which contained the *sammānapatra* in Sanskrit verses written on silk.

The coronation was fixed for the 24th February morning at 8-35 A. M. in the Hanuman Dhoka Palace. The coronation rituals commenced amidst the chanting of Vedic hymns. Exact at 8.35 Rājaguru crowned the king. At about a quarter past 9 Their Majesties the King and the Queen took their seats on the golden throne. The Rājaguru then handed to His Majesty the royal emblem, the Sceptre and the Sword.

The Viśva Hindu Dharma Sammelan's Delegation and the other Pandits who had come on the occasion stood up in a line, according to the instructions, to meet their Majesties as they came out of the Palace. Their Majesties came out to go to the temples and met each one of them. The delegation presented to His Majesty the golden Gota garland, the *Vibhūti* of God Viśvanātha, and the flower garlands from Viśvanātha temple. The King applied the *Vibhūti* on his forehead and wore the flower garlands when proceeding to visit the temples.

The Delegation returned to Varanasi on the 26th February.

Activities organized on the occasion of the birthday ceremonies of Maharaj Kumar Shri Anant Narain Singh

The birthday ceremonies of Maharaj Kumar Shri Anant Narain Singh were performed on January 23 to 27, 1975. On this auspicious occasion the following activities were organised under the auspices of the different Trusts:

Physical culture competition

Under the auspices of *maharaja Prabhu Narain Singh Physical Cultural Trust*, an inter-school physical culture competition comprising of various kinds of sports was organized on the 23rd and 24th January. Students of the local basic and junior schools and the Vidyā Mandir Pāṭhaśālā participated and prizes were given to

तदनुसारं श्रीशिवनन्दनलालदरमहोदयस्य नेतृत्वे त्रयाणां पण्डितानां, यस्मिन् श्रीविश्वनाथ मन्दिरस्य प्रधान 'महन्त' सम्मिलितः आसीत्, एकं प्रतिनिधिमण्डलं २२ फरवरी १९७५ दिनाङ्के काठमाण्डूनगरं गतम् । तत्रत्यानामधिकारिणां निर्देशानुसारं प्रतिनिधिमण्डलेन तत्रभवद्भ्यः तेषामवलोकनाय समुपनीतमुपहारः २३ फरवरी १९७५ दिनाङ्के समर्पितः । उपहारास्तु तत्रभट्टिकाशिनरेशैः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयैः समर्पिता आसन् । हस्तिदन्तनिर्मितमञ्जूषायुक्ते कौशेयवस्त्रे शुभाभिषेकावसरे नेपालनरेशानां महाराजवीरेन्द्रदेवस्य संस्कृतश्लोकरूपा प्रशस्तिरेव उपहाररूपेण प्रेषिता आसीत् ।

अभिषेकसमयः २४ फरवरी १९७५ दिनांके हनुमाढोकाप्रासादे प्रातःकाले ८.३५ वादनकाले निश्चितः आसीत् । राज्याभिषेकमहोत्सवः वैदिकमन्त्राणां पाठेन सह प्रारब्धो जातः । निश्चिते ८.३५ वादनकाले राजगुरुः महाराजं नेपालनरेशं मुकुटमण्डितमूर्धानमकरोत् । ९.१५ वादनकाले महाराजः महाराज्ञौ च हिरण्ये सिंहासने अधिरूढौ आस्ताम् । राजगुरुः महाराजाय राज्यचिह्नम्, राजछत्रम् असि च समर्पयामास ।

विश्वहिन्दूधर्मसम्मेलनस्य प्रतिनिधयः अन्ये च पण्डिताः निर्देशानुसारं राजदम्पत्योः प्रासादात् वहिरागमनकाले दर्शनार्थं पंक्तिवद्धा स्थिता आसन् । राजदम्पती मन्दिरदर्शनार्थं प्रासादाद् वहिरागतौ पृथक्-पृथक् च सर्वे प्रतिनिधिभिर्मिलितौ । प्रतिनिधिमण्डलेन राजदम्पतीभ्यां स्वर्णगोटामयी माला, विश्वनाथमन्दिरस्य विभूतिः पुष्पमयी माला च समर्पिताः । महाराजेन विभूतिः स्वमस्तके लिम्पिता पुष्पमाला च सम्मानपूर्वकं कण्ठे धृता ।

प्रतिनिधियः २६ फरवरी १९७५ दिनाङ्के काशीं प्रत्यावृत्ताः ।

महाराजकुमार श्रीअनन्तनारायणसिंहमहोदयस्य जन्मदिवसावसरे सम्पन्नानि कार्याणि

महाराजकुमार श्रीअनन्तनारायणसिंहमहोदयस्य जन्मतिथिकृत्यानि २३-२७ जनवरी १९७५ दिनाङ्केषु संपन्नानि । अस्मिन् शुभे अवसरे अधोनिर्दिष्टानि कृत्यजातानि विविधानां न्यासानां संरक्षणे संपन्नानि—

शारीरिकव्यायामप्रतियोगिता

महाराज प्रभुनारायण सिंह फिजिकल कल्चरल न्यासस्य संरक्षणे २३, २४ जनवरी १९७५ दिनाङ्कयोः विविधक्रीडामयी अन्तर विद्यालयीय प्रतियोगिता आयोजिता आसीत् । अस्यां प्रतियोगितायां स्थानीय प्रारम्भिक-माध्यमिक विद्यालयानां विद्यामन्दिरपाठशालायाश्च छात्राः सम्मिलिताः

the winners. The Mallakham exercises demonstrated on this occasion by the Koṇabhaṭṭa Vyāyāmaśālā, Varanasi, were very interesting.

Vedic Bālaka Vasanta Pūjā

On the 24th January sixteen Vedic students under 15 years of age from Varanasi orally recited the Vedic Mantras in the Devī temple of the Ramnagar Fort in the morning, when the main birthday ceremony rites were performed. This *Vasanta Pūjā* was performed under the auspices of *Maharaja Banaras Vidya mandir Trust*. Daskṣiṇā was given to the Vedic students.

Painting competition

A painting (*Citrakalā*) competition was held on the 25th January under the auspices of the *Maharaja Banaras Vidya mandir Trust* in which students of the Primary and middle classes of the local schools participated. The paintings were judged by the judges from the Banaras Hindu University. Prizes were given to the participants.

Painting School

In order to arrange for the instruction in painting, twice a week, for those local students who were specially interested in learning painting, a Painting School was started by the Vidyā Mandir Trust in the Ramnagar Fort, which was inaugurated by the District Magistrate of Varanasi, Shri B. P. Sahani, on 19.1.75.

Bāla Melā

A Children's Fair including a Baby Show was arranged on the 25th January under the auspices of *Kashi Naresh maharani Dharma Kārya Nidhi Trust*. Sweets were distributed to about 4000 children of local schools and of Ramnagar and neighbouring villages. About 400 clothes were also distributed to poor children under five years of age.

Bāla Śāstrārtha

Under the auspices of the *Maharaja Banaras Vidya Mandir Trust* a Bāla-Śāstrārtha on *Nyāya* was organized on the 27th January under the supervision of Pandit Rajeshwar Sastri Dravida. The children of the Vidyā Mandir Pāṭhaśālā and Udyana Pāṭhaśālā took part in the Śāstrārtha. Prizes were given to them in the form of cash and books.

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वभूवुः । विजेतृछात्रेभ्यः पुरस्काराः प्रदत्ताः । अस्मिन्नवसरे वाराणसीस्थया कोणभट्टव्यायामशालया प्रदर्शिताया मल्लखम्भक्रीडायाः प्रदर्शनमतीव रोचकमासीत् ।

वैदिक बालक-वसन्त-पूजा

२४ जनवरी १९७५ दिनाङ्के वाराणस्याः ऊनपञ्चदशवर्षीया षोडश वैदिकछात्रा रामनगरदुर्गस्थिते देवीमन्दिरे प्रातःकाले मौखिकरूपेण वैदिकमन्त्राणां पाठमकुर्वन् । अस्मिन् एव समये जन्मदिवसस्य मुख्यं कृत्यं सम्पन्नमभूत् । एषा वसन्त-पूजा महाराजवनारसविद्यामन्दिरन्यासस्य संरक्षणे संपन्ना जाता । न्यासेन वैदिकबालकेभ्यः दक्षिणाः प्रदत्ताः ।

चित्रकला-प्रतियोगिता

महाराजवनारसविद्यामन्दिरन्यासस्य संरक्षणे २५ जनवरी १९७५ दिनाङ्के एका चित्रकला प्रतियोगिता आयोजिता आसीत् । अस्यां प्रतियोगितायां स्थानिकपाठशालानां प्राथमिकमाध्यमिकक्षाणां छात्राः सम्मिलिता आसन् । चित्राणां परीक्षणं काशीहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयतः आगतैः परीक्षकैः कृतम् । प्रतियोगितायां सम्मिलितेभ्यः पुरस्काराः प्रदत्ताः ।

चित्रकला विद्यालयः

प्रतिसप्ताहं द्विवारं तेषां स्थानीयछात्राणां कृते येषां चित्रकलायां रुचिरस्ति विद्यामन्दिरन्यासेन चित्रकलापाठशाला प्रारब्धा । अस्याः पाठशालाया उद्घाटनं वाराणसीजनपदस्य जिलाधीशेन श्रीसाहनीमहोदयेन १९ जनवरी १९७५ दिनाङ्के कृतम् ।

बालमेला

२५ जनवरी १९७५ दिनाङ्के महारानी काशीनरेशधर्मकार्यनिधिन्यासस्य संरक्षणे बालमेलाया बालप्रदर्शनस्य च आयोजनमासीत् । स्थानिक विद्यालयानां छात्रेभ्यः रामनगरस्य तत्समीपवर्तिग्रामाणां च प्रायेण ४००० बालकेभ्यो मिष्ठान्नं वितरितम् । ऊनपञ्चवार्षिकेभ्यो ४०० निर्धन-बालेभ्यो वस्त्राण्यपि प्रदत्तानि ।

बालशास्त्रार्थः

महाराज बनारसविद्यामन्दिरन्यासस्य संरक्षणे २७ जनवरी १९७५ दिनाङ्के पण्डितराजराजेश्वरशास्त्रिद्रविड़महोदयस्य निरीक्षणे नव्यन्यायविषये बालशास्त्रार्थः सम्पन्नः । शास्त्रार्थे विद्यामन्दिरपाठशालाया उद्यानपाठशालायाश्च छात्राः सम्मिलिता आसन् । तेभ्यो द्रव्यरूपेण पुस्तकरूपेण च पुरस्काराः प्रदत्ताः ।

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Generally, dry leaves, flowers and fruits are not to be offered to deities. On the other hand, *Dhātṛī*, *Khadira* (*Acacia catechu*), *Bilva* and *Tamāla*, even though dry, are considered auspicious for worship. The lotus and *Āmalaka* can be used even three days after (culling). *Tulasī* and *Bilva* are considered to be pure any time. One should not offer any flower with its face turned down.¹

Praṇāma (reverential salutation) is of two types, viz., *Aṣṭāṅga Praṇāma* and *Pañcāṅga Praṇāma*. That in which the eight parts, viz., hands, legs, knees, chest, forehead, eyes, mind and speech are surrendered, is known as the *Aṣṭāṅga Praṇāma*; that in which the five parts, viz., hands, knees, chest, forehead and speech are surrendered, is known as *Pañcāṅga Praṇāma*.

Pradakṣiṇa (reverential circumambulation) is performed in various ways according to the deity worshipped. If the deity is Viṣṇu, one has to make four *pradakṣiṇas*; if Durgā, one; if Śiva, half; if Sun, seven; and if Gaṇeśa, three.² One should not accept leaves, flowers, fruits and water used in Śiva worship; on the other hand, every thing that comes in contact with Śālagrāma is held to be sacred³. The mode of worship described by the Nārada is as given below:

The worshipper draws a triangle of quardangle on the ground to his left. sanctifies it by sprinkling water and chanting the astramantra, worships it. meditates on *Ādharaśakti* (supreme power), worships 'Agniṃaṇḍala' (the sphere of fire), keeps camasa (a vessel) before him, meditates on 'Sūryamaṇḍala' (the orb of the Sun), chants 'Vilomamātrkāmalāmantra', fills the camasa with water and worships 'Indumaṇḍala' (the orb of the Moon) invoking all the *tīrthas* (holy waters) in the camasa. He converts the water into nectar with the "dhenumudrā" (a manual gesture resembling the teats of a cow) and covers the vessel chanting 'kavācamantra' (the protective spells). He washes the vessell chanting the astramantra and the *Gāyatrī* eight times. The procedure mentioned is known as fundamental worship.

Then he sprinkles water all over before him and draws a triangle and puts it into a hexagon, a circle and a square. He sprinkles water on it and fixes the figure with 'śaukhamudrā' (the manual gesture resembling a conch-shell). In the four corners of the figure he worships the four parts of body, viz., heart, etc.,

1. N, I. 67. 60-69.
2. N, I. 67. 103-105.
3. N, I. 123-124.

the eyes in the middle and the astra on the sides. He worships the 'Ādhāraśakti' in the middle part of the triangle chanting the 'mūlakhaṇḍatrayamantra'. He keeps a tripod over the figure and worships it chanting the mantra 'maṁ vahnimaṇḍalāya', etc. He washes the *śaṅkha* chanting the mantra 'Om klīm mahājalacarāya', etc., and worships it chanting the mantra 'Om Arkamaṇḍalāya', etc. The *śaṅkha* is filled with water chanting the 'mātrkāmantra' (letters of the alphabets). The 'Arkamaṇḍala' and the 'Indumaṇḍala' are worshipped invoking *tīrthas* and chanting the mantra 'Gaṅge ca yamune', etc. He converts the water into nectar performing the 'gomudrā' (dhenumudrā), covers it with the 'matsya-mudrā' (the manual gesture resembling fish) and the 'kavaca-mantra' and protects it with 'avagunṭhanamudrā' (the manual gesture resembling mantle) chanting the 'astramantra'. Then he meditates on the family God, performs the mudrās like *śaṅkha*, *musala*, *cakra*, *paramikaraṇa*, *yoni* and *mahāmudrā*. Then he worships the deity with flowers, sandal paste, etc. chanting the 'mūla-mantra' (the principal mantra) and *Gāyatrī* eight times. He keeps the *prokṣaṇī* (the vessel containing holy water) before him, takes water from the *śaṅkha*, pours it in the *prokṣaṇī*, sprinkles himself three times with water chanting mantras 'Om tattvātmane namaḥ', 'Om vidyātattvātmane namaḥ', 'Om śivatattvātmane namaḥ' or chanting the *mūlagāyatrī*. He sprinkles water on the circle and offers flowers and the whole grain rice. He keeps the vessel containing *pādyā* (water for washing the feet), *arghya* (water respectfully offered for washing hands), *ācamanīya* (water for sipping) and *madhuparka*. He adores the *Pīṭhaśaktis* (altar deities) of different coloured clothes. Holding flowers in his palms, he meditates on his deity, chants the mantra 'Ātmasaṁsthamayaṁ śuddham', etc., and offers the *upacāras* (customary obeisance) viz., *pādyā*, *arghya*, *ācamanīya*, *madhuparka*, *punarācamnīya* (sipping of water again), *sneha* (oil), *snāna* (bath), *abhiṣeka* (consecrating by sprinkling water), *vastra* (cloth), *uttariya* (upper garment), *gandha* (perfumes and sandal paste), *puṣpa* (flower), *dhūpa* (incense), *dīpa* (illumination), *naivedya* (offering of food), and *Tāmbūla* (betel-leaf). Then he prays facing east.

While offering flowers, the mantra 'Abhiṣṭasiddhiṁ me dehi', etc., is to be chanted. *Naivedya* consisting of four kinds of food, betel leaves with *Pūga* (betel nut), *Khadira* (Acacia catechu), *cūrṇa* (lime), *karpūra* (camphor), *sugandha* (perfumes), and *puṣpañjali*

(palmful of flowers) is offered. He also worships the deities Indra, etc., presiding over the eight directions, with their vehicles and weapons. This is followed by offering of *ārati* (waving lights before the image). He takes water from the conch shell, sprinkles it all over the ground, and performs a dance raising his hands. Then he bows before the God and meditates upon him. He prepares a *vedi* (altar), cleans it, offers worship to it and places fire upon it. Meditating upon his deity he performs *homa* (sacrifice) with four oblations of ghee into the fire and 25 oblations with ghee, rice, oil and porridge. He also performs worship with offering of sandal paste, etc., chanting the 'vyāhṛtimantras'. Afterwards, he invokes the deity in the idol and performs *visarjana* (sending off) of the fire. Then he offers water for sipping to the fire. Bali (oblation of food) of the remaining *haviṣyānna* (oblation) mixed with sandal paste, flowers and the whole grain rice is then offered to all the deities and also to all living beings. With the 'dhenumudrā' he converts the water into nectar and offers it to the deity for sipping. He performs *udgāsa* (banishment) and again transfers the deity to the image. He offers *naivedya* to the 'ucchiṣṭabhojīs' (the deities who eat the remnants of food). Recalling the ṛsis of mantras, he performs *nyāsa* and chants mantras. Turning his face aside, he offers *arghya* and worships his deity with flowers and other articles. Then he repeats hymns in praise of his deity and submits himself to his deity and begs to be excused for his faults. He chants the *mūlamantra*, performs *visarjana* of his deity and offers flowers to his deity. With the 'sambhāramudrā' (a particular posture in the *Tantra* worship), he consecrates the deity in his heart through the *Suṣumnā*. He smells the rest of the flowers and sets them aside. He sips the *tīrtha* chanting the mantra 'Akālamṛtyu-haraṇam', etc., and partakes of the *naivedya*. Then he offers the daily oblation of food to *Vaiṣṇadeva*, etc., feeds the *Brāhmaṇas* and takes his food in the company of his people. Then he engages himself in attending to the reading of the *Purāṇas*, etc¹.

1. N, I.67. 1-140.

CHAPTER V

Philosophy in the Nārada Purāṇa

The Cosmogony

The account of creation, which, differs from the philosophical material of many Purāṇas like *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu*, *Kūrma* and *Skanda*, is dealt with under *Sarga*.¹

The *Nāradiya* account of creation is as follows : Mānasa, the first eternal being, is the root cause of the whole universe. He first created the great ether (sky); from the sky arose water, from water the wind and the fire, and from the wind and the fire, the earth. Then he created a celestial lotus from which was born Brahmā also called *Ahaṁkāra* (ego). In fact, the creator of *Ahaṁkāra* is Bhagavān Viṣṇu, known also as Ananta. He is omnipresent; wind is his breath and sky his head. He himself assumed the form of Brahmā. The earth is the bottom of the lotus, and its *Karṇikā* (pericarp or helm) is the mount Meru. The explanation of the origin of the universe is given thus : From the static sky arose water as darkness. As a vessel, when filled with water, produces sound, so surging waters from the ocean, pressing against the sky, created the noisy wind. Friction between the wind and the water produced fire. The contact of fire, water and wind gave rise to a sort of liquid which solidified into the earth. The animal body is made of the five great elements, and their functions in the body are : the sky provides cavity spaces, the fire heat, water liquid sap, and the earth the solid body mass. A similar theory is propounded in the case of plants as they have all the five *Jñānendriyas* (organs of knowledge) and life also. Because the stumps experience pleasure and pain and grow even when cut, they must have a living soul. The five great elements co-operate with the winds, fan the fire in the body and the fire is constantly kept burning as in an oven².

The *Mahābhārata* also gives an identical view on this subject but with slight variations. "The characterisation of the Supreme

1. Cf. The Five Characteristics of the Nārada Purāṇa discussed already.
2. N, J. 42.

Being as Viṣṇu and the mythological description of Viṣṇu as creating the lotus and Brahmadeva fit in with the theistic and mythological character of the Nārādīya Purāṇa which is a sectarian Vaiṣṇavaite work."¹

Elsewhere, while speaking about the origin of the universe, Nārada says that Viṣṇu, the Supreme God, at first manifested himself in the forms, *Prakṛti*, *Puruṣa* and *Kāla* (time). The *Prakṛti*, who is nothing but the *Śakti* (power) of Viṣṇu and known by the various names like *Durgā*, *Bhadrakālī*, *Vidyā*, *Avidyā*, *Parā Māyā*, etc., when agitated by *Puruṣa*, gave birth to *Mahat* (the great), and the universe evolved through the following stages : *Buddhi*, *Ahaṁkāra*, *Indriyas* and the *Mahābhūtas*.²

It seems that here Nārada follows the Sāṅkhya-Vedānta system of explaining the origin of the universe. Here again, the characterisation of *Prakṛti* or *Māyā* as the *Śakti* of the Supreme God Viṣṇu, shows the Vaiṣṇavite character of the Purāṇa.

The individual Souls

The *Jīva* (life) is eternal and does not perish on the destruction of the body. The soul itself is the enjoyer of all the *guṇas* like smell, noise, etc., and also of pleasure and pain. Just as the fire, subtly dormant in the fuel, becomes imperceptible after the fuel is burnt, so also the soul, though it exists, cannot be perceived after the destruction of the body. When the five great elements wither away, the body perishes and the soul goes out. It can be seen by one who is abstemious in food, pure minded and who concentrates his mind on the soul in yogic contemplation.³

The Soul is referred to as 'Jīva'. The Brahman, the world soul, is not met with here. The text is identical with that of the *Mahābhārata*.⁴

Adhyātman

Adhyātman means knowledge regarding the Ātman, knowledge about the relation between Ātman and the world. In the

1. Mbh, XII. 175. 1-37; 176. 1-17; 177. 1-39; 178. 1-17; Purāṇa, V. 2. pp. 280-290.
2. N, I. 3. 1-33.
3. N, I. 43. 1-49.
4. Erich Frauwallner, 'Geschichte der indischen Philosophie' 1 Band—pp. 129-132; Mbh, XII. 179. 1-15; 180. 1-30; Purāṇa, V. 2. pp. 289-292.

end, five great elements, which are mingled with the body, join with the respective elements as waves in the ocean. But the soul enters another body and takes birth as a human being, an animal or a bird and the like, to enjoy the effect of Karma (action).

The five sense organs are formed of the five great elements, the sixth psychical organ is the mind, and the seventh is Buddhi. Among them Buddhi is the most important organ. The eighth is Kṣetrajñā, i. e., the soul. The bondage of the soul depends upon the three bhāva: (states), viz., Sāttvika, Rājasa and Tāmasa, of Buddhi. It seems that the soul is affected by contact with Buddhi and entangled in the pleasure and pain, but, actually, the soul is unaffected by these, and stands aloof as a witness. All the activities are really based on the bhāvas of Buddhi only. When by practising Yoga one gets control over his senses, he becomes conscious of the true nature of the soul and recognises that pleasure and pain belong only to the earthly nature.¹

The Mahābhārata also gives a similar description about Adhyātman².

Mokṣadharmā

Mind and the other five sense organs are called jñānendriyas.

The five Karmendriyas (organs of action) are hands, legs, genital organ, anus and the organ of speech. In all, thus, there are eleven organs. In action, the sense, the sense-object and the subject (mind) work together. Thus, if one hears a sound, the sense of hearing, the object, i. e., sound, and the mind work together. Similarly all the sense-organs work together. These are divided into three, viz., Sāttvika, Rājasa and Tāmasa. One who knows the principles of salvation and those of controlling the sense organs understands the soul, and acts without any expectation, and thus attains final salvation.³

This account occurs in the Mahābhārata with some variations. This text in one Purāṇa, which according to the Mahābhārata, is 'the Deliverance in the Sāṅkhya way' probably represents the early phase of the classical Purāṇic Sāṅkhya.⁴

1. N, I. 44. 21-82.

2. Mbh, XII. 187. 1-60; Purāṇa, V. 2. pp. 296-299.

3. N, I. 45. 50-87.

4. Purāṇa, V. 2. p. 302.

Yoga

Yoga is divided into two: Karmayoga and Jñānayoga. Without Karmayoga, Jñānayoga cannot be attained. One engaged in Karmayoga should worship Viṣṇu. Ahimsā, Satya, Akrodha (non-irritability), Brahmācārya, Aparigraha, Īrṣyā-tyāga (abandoning of jealousy) and Dayā (kindness) should be observed by a Karmayogī as well as by a Jñānayogī.¹ One who worships Viṣṇu by chanting hymns and prayers is called a Karmayogī. Observance of vratas (vows), hearing the recital of Purāṇas, worship of Viṣṇu, etc., form Karmayoga.

One who gets rid of all kinds of ambitions and desires, and keeps the mind on Lord Viṣṇu alone, i.e., the ultimate reality in the world, becomes free from all kinds of sins and in the end attains the final salvation.

The Ātman (soul) is of two kinds: Para (higher) and Aparā (lower). The Para is the Nirguṇa, absolute Brahman; the lower is the self endowed with Ego; the realisation of the identity of the two in Yoga².

One who drives away Ajñāna (ignorance) and gains knowledge should concentrate upon Parama Ātman, the un-manifest, pure and omnipresent.

The diversity in the nature of the Parama Ātman is created by Māyā (delusion). Hence, Māyā should be overcome by a Mumukṣu (one who yearns for mokṣa) by resorting to Yoga. The yogī destroys ignorance by practising yoga.³

The eight Aṅgas (aids) of Yoga are the well known Yama, Niyama etc.⁴ According to Patañjali⁵, the Yamas are Ahimsā, Satya, Asteya, Brahmācārya and Aparigraha. These are enumerated by the Kūrma and the Agni Purāṇas.⁶ To these five the Nāradiya adds two more, viz., Akrodha and Anasūya.

1. N. I. 33. 31-36.

2. N. I. 33.50-57.

3. N, I. 33.37-72.

4. N, I. 33.73-75.

5. Ys, 30.

6. K, II. 11; Ag, 372; Ag. A Study, p. 221.

Tapas, Svādhyāya, Santoṣa, Śauca, Hari-Pūjana (Viṣṇu worship) followed by Sandhyopāsana (daily worship of the twilight) are the Niyamas.¹

The Niyamas, according to Patañjali,² are Śauca, Santoṣa, Tapas, Svādhyāya and Īśvarapraṇidhāna. The Kūrma and the Agni Purāṇas³ displace Īśvarapraṇidhāna by Īśvarapūjana (worship of God), which is an indication of their theistic tinge. The Nāradiya goes a step further and states more specifically Hari-worship.⁴

Emaciation of the body by the observance of Cāndrāyana, etc., is Tapas, one of the accessories of Yoga. The Japa (chanting) of Praṇava, Upaniṣad, the mantras of 12 and 8 letters, Mahāvākya, etc., is Svādhyāya, which is essential for the attainment of the knowledge regarding Yoga. By Svādhyāya alone, without practising Yoga, one is freed from the sins, and the gods are propitiated. By giving up Svādhyāya, however, the knowledge of Yoga cannot be gained. Japa can be Vācika, Upāṁśu, or Mānasa, every succeeding one being superior to the one preceding. The clear chanting of the mantra is called Vācika; if the chanting is accompanied with Vivecana (discrimination) of the words, it is called Upāṁśu; the chanting accompanied by Vicāraṇā (consideration) of their meaning is called Mānasa.⁵

The definition of the three kinds of Japa, given by the Kūrma⁶, is as follows : Reading clearly and audibly is known as Vācika; Japa is known as Upāṁśu, where only the lips move, but no sound is heard; in the third type of Japa, i.e., the Mānasa, the lips do not move and the words are only thought of (accompanied by the thinking of their meaning). Santoṣa is the feeling of satisfaction over what (wealth) comes of its own accord. The Śauca can be Bāhya (external) or Ābhyantara (internal). The cleaning of body by soil, water, etc., is called Bāhya. The purification of

1. N, I. 33.87.

2. Ys, 32.

3. K, II. 11; Ag, Ch. 372.

4. Haripūjana.

5. N, I. 33. 92-95.

6. K, q. in the Yogasārasaṅgraha of Vijñānabhikṣu ed. by Vaze, p. 43.

the mind is known as Ābhyantara. By the worship of Hari, by Manas (mind), Vāk (word) and Karma (act), by means of Śravaṇa (hearing), Śtuti (praise) and Pūjana (worship), the unflinching devotion to Hari attained by one, is known as Hari-Pūjana.

The 30 Āsanās referred to in the Nārada Purāṇa are : Padmaka, Svastika, Piṭha, Sainha, Kaukkuṭa. Kauñjara Kaurma, Vajra, Vārāha, Mṛgacailika, Krauñca, Nālika, Sarvatobhadra, Vārṣabha, Nāga, Mātsya, Vaiyāghra, Ardha-candraka, Daṇḍa, Vāta, Śaila, Śvabhra, Maudgara, Mākara, Traipatha, Kāṣṭha, Sthānu, Vaikarṇika, Bhauma and Vira.

The nāḍī situated on the right side of the beings is known as Piṅgalā. It is known as Pitṛyoni and is presided over by the Sun. The one, on the left side, is Idā, presided over by the Moon and known as Devayoni. In the middle of these two nāḍīs is situated the extremely subtle nāḍī, the Suṣumnā, which is presided over by Brahmā. Prāṇāyāma is known as Recaka when the air is exhaled; Pūraka, where air is inhaled. The exhaling and inhaling of the air are done through the left and right nāḍīs respectively. When the air is taken in (the lungs) and held there as if in a full pot, the Prāṇāyāma is known as Kumbhaka. The state of emptiness (of the lungs) is known as Śūnyaka.¹

Yājñavalkya² makes a three-fold distinction of Prāṇāyāma based on the duration of the breath control, viz., Pūraka, Kumbhaka and Recaka, the succeeding one being superior to the preceding one. Their duration is of 12, 24 and 36 mātrās (units of measure) respectively.

According to Nārada, the control of breath, which is attained by incessant practice, is Prāṇāyāma. It may be Sabīja or Abīja. Again, the control of the airs, Prāṇa and Apāna, which are in conflict with each other, is the third type.³ Furthermore, Prāṇāyāma can be Sagarbha-with the accompaniment of Japa and Dhyāna, or Agarbha-without the same. Here Sagarbha is considered as the better of the two⁴. Japa is explained by the

1. N, I. 33. 117-126.

2. q, by Vijñānabhikṣu, Yogasārasaṅgraha, p. 41.

3. N, I. 47. 16-17.

4. N, I. 33. 119.

Kūrma Purāṇa as the muttering of Gāyatrī with the Praṇava and the Vyāhrtis. During a Prāṇāyāma, three such mutterings are performed.¹ Pratyāhāra is the control of sense organs which are immersed in mundane affairs (which come in contact with external objects). One who strives to concentrate his mind in Dhyāna without reining the sense properly is a fool; never will he succeed in achieving concentration.

Dhāraṇā is the fixation of the controlled sense-organs accompanied with the identification of all objects with the Ātman. Dhyāna is the perfect meditation upon God, and Samādhi is the delight felt from the realisation of the identity of the self and the Parama Ātman².

Dhāraṇā, according to the Kūrma Purāṇa,³ is contemplation on God in regions like the lotus of the heart, navel, centre of the head, mountain top, etc., accompanied by the concentration of mind. The duration of Dhāraṇā is 12 Prāṇāyāmas, Dhyāna is of 12 Dhāraṇās and 12 Dhyānas make Samādhi. According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Dhyāna is 'the one pointed succession of the apprehension of the Lord's form, unmixed with another idea'. In the Narasimha Purāṇa the contemplation of Viṣṇu is described in connection with Dhyāna.⁴ The Viṣṇu Purāṇa calls Samādhi as an act 'when the mind grasps as a result of dhyāna the real nature of that (the Paramātman) in which there is absence of the separate apprehension (of the object to be meditated upon, the act of meditation and meditator)'⁵.

Nārada describes another type of Dhyāna according to which Nārāyaṇa in Praṇava form should be meditated upon by chanting the Praṇava. The constituents of Praṇava are explained thus; Akāra is Brahmā, Ukāra is Viṣṇu, Makāra is Rudra and Ardha

1. K, II. 11; q. by Vijñānabhikṣu, Yogasārasaṅgraha, p. 43.
2. N, I. 33. 129-143.
3. K, II. 11; q. by Vijñānabhikṣu, Yogasārasaṅgraha, p. 45.
4. Vi, VI. 7. 91, q. by Vācaspati, Kṛtyakalpa, Mokṣakāṇḍa, p. 175; Nṛ, 17. 11-28; and 26. 17 q. by Kṛtyakalpataṛu, Mokṣa, pp. 191-192; HD, V. 2. pp. 1448-1449.
5. Vi. VI. 7. 92 q. by Vācaspati, Kṛtyakalpa, Mokṣa, p. 175; HD. V. 2. p. 1450.

Mātrā is the Param Brahman. In short, the Praṇava is the combination of the trinity, which, taken as a whole, is Param Brahman.¹

The practice of Yoga described elsewhere in the Nārada Purāṇa is summarised below and it is similar to the account given by the Mahābhārata.

The Yogī performs Dhyāna accompanied by the concentration of mind. By continued practice he loses selfishness and interest in worldly affairs. He steadies the mind and attains equanimity. By controlling the sense organs, he loses the sense of sound, touch, taste, smell and colour, with the sense organs and mind bundled together, he engages himself in contemplation and remains as lifeless as a dry stump. At this time, the Ātman becomes light and like a minute drop of water on a leaf wavers, though steadied repeatedly. By continued contemplation, the Yogī acquires Vicāra, Vitarka and Viveka. In the beginning, he passes through the stage of mental torture and difficulties. After conquering these and renouncing desires finally the mind attains the peaceful state. Slowly and steadily he attains Nirvāṇa (final salvation).²

Muktiyoga

The union of mind with Brahman by the practice of Yama, Niyama, etc., is called Yoga. A Yogī is called a mumukṣu (desirous of attaining final salvation). One who practises Yoga is called Yuñjāna and who attains Param Brahman is a yukta or 'Vinīṣpanna-Samādhi. After burning the Karma-Rāśi (the heap of actions) by Yoga, he attains final emancipation. The Yogī should observe the five Yamas, and the five Niyamas. He should practise Prāṇāyāma and control his senses. Then he should concentrate his mind on Brahman as Mūrtta (corporeal) or Amūrtta (incorporeal). With regard to concentration, the three Bhāvas are Brahman-Bhāvanā (conception of supreme spirit) followed by sages like Sanaka, etc.; Karma-Bhāvanā (conception of Karma) followed by gods and other beings; and Ubhayātmikī-Bhāvanā (the dual conception of Brahman-karma). When the difference between the universe and Brahman disappears, that knowledge is known as

1. N, I. 33. 153-160.

2. N, I. 44. 83-105.

Brahma-Jñāna. But as it is difficult to imagine the nirguṇa-form of Viṣṇu (Brahma) in the beginning stage, he should meditate upon any of the Saguṇa forms of Viṣṇu starting from Pradhāna and ending with Viśeṣa (distinction).

Vijñānabhikṣu quotes a Smṛti to the effect that the mind, which, at first, is concentrated on the Sthūla (the gross like the universe), is slowly led towards Sūkṣma (the subtle) in concentration. The entire universe is the result of the power of Paramātmān. The power is known as Para, Apra and Karmaśakti. Bhagavān Viṣṇu is Para, Kṣetrajña is Apra, and Avidyā is Karmaśakti. First, one should meditate upon Bhagavān Viṣṇu with form, and step by step he should concentrate on His nirguṇa form. So, the Yogī would see everything only in the form of Brahma and would attain immortality.¹

Thus, the above account of the Nāradiya is the system of Yoga based on Vedānta.

Mokṣārtha Sadhaka Tattva (The Technique of Attaining the Final Emancipation)

There is no eye like Vidya (learning), no sorrow like Rāga (passion) and no happiness like Tyāga (renunciation). One should avoid sinful acts and perform virtuous deeds by following the advice of the good. Self-control also should be practised. By good deeds, one attains birth as god; by good and bad deeds, as a human being; and by bad deeds, as an animal or bird.

By acquiring knowledge, one cuts asunder all the bonds and slowly approaches Param Brahma. By this way, one attains final salvation.²

Bhakti is classified in various ways in the Purāṇas. The Bhāgavata and the Padma Purāṇa divide bhakti into three as sāttvikī, rājasi and tāmasī. Again, the Padma Purāṇa has divided it as laukikī (the common), vaidikī (laid down by the Veda) and ādhyātmikī (philosophical), or mānasī (mental), vācikī (verbal) and kāyikī (physical). According to the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa it can be classified as best, middling and inferior. According to the Nārada Bhakti Sūtra, bhakti is eleven-fold, viz., formed as guṇa-māhātmyāśakti (love for the glorious qualities of the Lord), rūpāśakti (love of his enchanting beauty), pūjāśakti (love of worship).

1. N, I. Ch. 47.

2. N, I. 60. 43-94.

smaraṇāsakti (love of constant remembrance), dāsyāsakti (love of service), sakhyāsakti (love of him as a friend), vātsalyāsakti (love of him as a son), kāntāsakti (love for him as that of a wife for her husband), ātmanivedanāsakti (love of self-surrender), tanmayatāsakti (love of complete absorption in him) and paramavirahāsakti (love of the pain of separation from him). In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa it is nine-fold, viz., 'hearing about Viṣṇu, repeating his name, remembering him, worshipping the feet (of the image of Viṣṇu), offering pūjā, bowing (or homage), treating oneself of the slave of Viṣṇu, treating Him as a friend and surrendering one's soul to Him'.¹ Several Purāṇas glorify bhakti and narrate stories about it.

According to Nārada, bhakti is the Paramakāraṇa (prime cause) of all kinds of siddhis (achievements), as āloka (light) is of all activities of the creatures. For all the siddhis, bhakti is the jīvana (life), just as water is the jīvana for the loka (world).² The Parā (great) bhakti is like Kāmadhenu.³ It is the destroyer of all the sins and is as dāvānala (forest fire) to the Pāpāranya (forest of sin).⁴ It is the mātā (mother) of the whole universe, and the nidāna (root cause) of ācāras, yogas and even of Hari bhakti.⁵ Bhakti is achieved by bhakti itself.⁶ The devotees of Viṣṇu will be fortunate to realise the four Puruṣārthas (the four goals of human endeavour). One who has bhakti for the immortal Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), the Lord of the universe, will have success in life and will attain mukti (salvation) in the end.⁷ One who is engaged in pleasing Hari (Viṣṇu) or serving the devotees of Viṣṇu will be known even by gods; again, one who worships Hari or his devotees, or takes the remnants of their food will attain the abode of Viṣṇu. One who repeats the names of Hari, such as Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa and Vāsudeva or Śiva, Nīlakaṇṭha, Śaṅkara, etc., will be

1. Bh. III. 29. 7-10; P. VI. 126. 4-11; V. 15. 164, 165-168; Br. III. 34. 38-41; Nārada Bhakti Sūtra, 83; Bh. VII. 5. 23-24; HD, V. 2. pp. 960. 965.

2. N, I. 4. 3-4.

3. N, I. 4. 12.

4. N, I. 15. 139.

5. N, I. 4. 28-33.

6. N. I. 4. 2.

7. N, I. 1. 78-79.

honoured by gods.¹ By contact with Bhagavat-bhaktas (devotees of the lord), bhakti is gained, but such contact is possible only for the people who have already collected sukṛta (merit) in their previous births.²

Nārada divides bhakti into three, as (1) Śraddhā (intimacy), (2) Samatā (equality) and (3) Śānti (tranquillity). (1) Śraddhā bhakti is that in which one regards the whole world to be Viṣṇu, Viṣṇu, as the cause for every thing and oneself as Viṣṇu whose smaraṇa (remembrance) is knowledge. Lord Viṣṇu is the form of all gods and he worships Him in accordance with the rules prescribed. (2) Samatā is that state of mind of one who believes Viṣṇu to be in the form of all bhūtas, that He is omnipresent and that there is nothing different from Him. (3) Śānti is that state of mind in which one regards friends and foes alike, has self-control and is pleased with what comes to him accidentally.³ Nārada again divides bhakti into ten as (1) Tāmasī (relating to the quality Tamas) bhakti-Adhamā (low); (2) Tāmasī bhakti-Madhyamā (middling), (3) Tāmasī bhakti-Uttamā (high), (4) Rājasī (relating to the quality Rajas) bhakti-Adhamā, (5) Rājasī bhakti-Madhyamā, (6) Rājasī bhakti-Uttamā, (7) Sāttvikī (belonging to the quality sattva) bhakti-Adhamā, (8) Sāttvikī bhakti-Madhyamā, (9) Sāttvikī bhakti-Uttamā and (10) Uttamottamā (highest) bhakti.

(1) Tāmasī bhakti-Adhamā is that in which Śrīpati (Viṣṇu) is worshipped with the intention of destroying others;

(2) Tāmasī bhakti-Madhyamā is worshipping Jagannātha (Lord of the world) Nārāyaṇa with Kaitavā-dhī (dishonest intention) as the love of a Svairiṇī (adulteress) for her husband;

(3) Tāmasī bhakti-Uttamā is that in which Hari is worshipped by a person jealously competing with other worshippers;

(4) Rājasī bhakti-Adhamā is known as that devoted worship of Hari with a prayer for gaining Dhana (wealth), Dhānya (grains), etc.;

(5) Rājasī bhakti—Madhyamā is that in which Mādhava is worshipped for gaining popularity in the world;

1. N, I. 3.53-56.

2. N, I. 4. 33.

3. N, I. 16. 31-35.

(6) Rājasī bhakti—Uttamā is that in which Hari is worshipped with the expectation of securing Sālokya (residence in His world, i.e. Vaikuṇṭha);

(7) Sāttvikī-bhakti—Adhamā is that in which Hari is worshipped for the destruction of one's sins;

(8) Sāttvikī bhakti—Madhyamā is the dedicated service to Hari as it is sought by Him;

(9) Sāttvikī bhakti—Uttamā is that in which voluntarily one offers Dāsya (servitude) to Śrīpati for pleasing Him; and

(10) Uttamottamā bhakti is that in which one feels that he himself is the Para (great) Viṣṇu and everything in the world is in him.¹

Bhagavat and the Bhāgavatas

The word 'Bhagavat' denotes Paramātman. Though Brahma is beyond interpretation or explanation, for purposes of Upāsana (adoration), it is called by the term 'Bhagavat'. The first letter, 'bha' means jñeyam (the matter to be known) and samjātā (knower). The three interpretations of the letter 'ga' are netā (leader or guide) gamayitā (conveyor) and sraṣṭā (creator). The combination of bha and ga, i. e., bhaga is applied to the six qualities together, viz., Samagra Aiśvarya (full lordship) Vīrya (virility), Yaśas (fame), Śrī (riches) jñāna, (knowledge) and Vairāgya passionlessness. The letter 'Va' applies to the Avyaya (imperishable) Paramātmā, who resides in every being and in whom all the creatures reside. Thus, the noble word 'Bhagavān' applies to Vāsudeva, who is Paramātman. This word secondarily applies to those who possess the knowledge about Utpatti (creation) and Pralaya (dissolution) of the world, Āgati (origin) and Gati (movement or final destiny) of the beings, Vidyā (learning) and Avidyā (nescience). Jñāna, Bala (strength), Aiśvarya, Vīrya, Tejas (splendour)—all these in their entirety, excluding the three guṇas, i. e., Sattva, Rajas and Tamas that are to be avoided, are expressed by the word Bhagavat.²

The prabhāva (greatness) of the Bhāgavatas cannot be described even in crores of years. The Bhāgavatas are the well-

1. N, I. 15. 138-151.

2. N, I. 46. 12-23.

wishers of others. They will have no jealousy or enmity and will not defame others. They will be self-controlled, calm and virtuous, will have interest in listening to sat-kathās (good stories), Purāṇas, Vedas, etc., will be devoted to Viṣṇu and to His devotees, will serve their parents equating them with goddess Gaṅgā and the Lord Viśveśvara, will worship gods, will honour vratis, yatis, cows and Brāhmaṇas, will speak and emulate the virtues of others, will see every thing as Ātman (self or the soul), will treat their friends and enemies equally, will preach Dharmaśāstra, will speak truth, will perform yajñas, pilgrimage, etc., will be pleased in other's prosperity, will chant Harināma, Pañcākṣara, Śambhunāma, and will regard Viṣṇu and Śiva as equal. They will pay respect to Tulasikānana (forest of Tulasī, the basil plant), will erect temples, dig tanks and layout, gardens, etc., will be the devotees of Śiva, will wear Tripuṇḍra (a mark on the forehead consisting of three lines made with cowdung, ashes, sandal paste, etc.,) Rudrākṣa (the berry of the tree called Rudrākṣa), will offer cow, kanyā (girl), anna (rice), etc., in gift, will observe Ekādaśīvrata and will perform karma (act) for Hari.¹

(i) Varṇas and their Dharma in the Nārada-Purāṇa

Nārada says that, at first, only one Varṇa, the Brāhmaṇa was created by Lord Brahmā, but it split itself up into four due to the different pursuits followed. Originally there was no classification of people into Varṇas. For, the whole universe is but a form of Brahma. But later different Varṇas arose depending upon the deeds of the people. The twice-born who, giving up their duties, sought pleasure and were characterised by red colour, anger, etc., became Kṣatriyas. These twice-born who, giving up their duties, pursued agriculture and cattle-rearing and were characterised by yellow colour, became Vaiśyas; whereas twice-born, dark in colour, violent and miserly, following all pursuits and devoid of cleanliness, became the Śūdras.³ This view is expressed in the Mahābhārata also.³

Elsewhere, contradicting the above, it is said that the four Varṇas, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra, were born respec-

1. N, I. 5. 46-76.

2. N. I. 43. 50-60.

3. Mbh, XII. 181. 1-20; Cf. also Purāṇa, V. 2. p. 293.

ctively from the mouth, hand thighs and feet of Janārdana or Viṣṇu. The Moon was born of Viṣṇu's mind, Sun from his eye, Agni, Indra from his mouth and Vāyu (wind) from his Prāṇa (vital breath).¹ The Puruṣa Sūkta holds the same view about the four classes, the Moon, Sun, Agni, Indra and Vāyu. In the Puruṣa Sūkta and Mahābhārata, Puruṣa is the Supreme Being from whom the four classes originated.²

The allegory regarding the origin of the Varṇas is explained as follows :

The seat of speech, the Brāhmaṇas, born from the mouth, were to be the teachers; the arms, the symbol of strength, were to be the Kṣatriyas, who were to protect the people; the thighs, the lower portion of the body, which consumes food, gave birth to the Vaiśyas to provide food for the people; and the Śūdra, born from the feet, was to be the foot-man, the servant of the other Varṇas.³

Nārada says that one should follow the dharma based on one's Varṇa and Āśrama and the defaulters will become Pāṣaṇḍas (heretics). The general rules of conduct applicable to all are wishing welfare of all, sweet speech, contentment, absence of pride, etc. And by following these, one will be a Muni (sage)⁴. Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas are known as dvijas (twice born) because of their two births, one from the mother's womb and the second by the performance of Upanayana (initiation⁵).

Brāhmaṇa

To Nārada, Brāhmaṇa, is superior to and the teacher of all the Varṇas.⁶ Brāhmaṇas, are the best among Naras (human beings).⁷ Pleassing the Brāhmaṇas by gifts, is recommended as it pleases Viṣṇu and saves the giver from the abode of Yama.⁸

1. N, I. 11. 33-34.
2. RV, X. 90; Mbh. XII. 46.
3. MSO, p. 286.
4. N, I. 24. 9, 28-30.
5. N, I. 24.8.
6. N, I. 24. 7; 12.2.
7. N, I. 31. 35.
8. Cf. Dāna and Prāyaścitta, infra. N, I. 11.60; 103; 13.116.

Brāhmaṇadveṣa (hostility to Brāhmaṇas) is a great sin (without any remedy). Murder of a Brāhmaṇa is one of the five vilest sins.¹ Under no circumstances should a Brāhmaṇa be killed.² One who denies reward to a Brāhmaṇa after inviting him and one who creates obstacles to a Brāhmaṇa going for his bath of worship are called Brahmahās.³ Even gods are not superior to Brāhmaṇas.⁴ Punishment for offences depended on the Varṇa of the offender with Brāhmaṇa getting the least.⁵

Brāhmaṇa was considered to be superior, not on account of his birth alone, but on account of his intellectual attainments and other qualities, like truthfulness, non-violence, kindness, helpfulness, austerities, etc. He who undergoes the Saṁskāras (sanctifying rites) like Jāta-karman, keeps his mind pure and clear, studies the Vedas and observes the vratas is a Brāhmaṇa, and his duties are the acceptance of gifts, learning and teaching of the Vedas, etc. These duties are to be performed in thought, speech and deed.⁶ Though Nārada gives a long list of persons who are banned from a funeral repast, he prohibits one from enquiring about the qualities of a Brāhmaṇa at a holy place before feeding him.⁷ A Brāhmaṇa under special circumstances is allowed to take to the vocation of a Kṣatriya, but not that of a Śūdra.⁸

In the Kali age, a Brāhmaṇa should avoid sea-voyage, carrying of Kamaṇḍalu (i.e. Saṁyāsa), marital connection with other Varṇas, securing a child through devara (brother-in-law, i.e., husband's younger brother), killing of cow for the preparation of Madhuparka, use of flesh in Śrāddha, life-long celibacy, re-marriage of a girl who is married but not deflowered, performance of Gomedha, Aśvamedha and Naramedha, eating of flesh, and Mahāprasthāngamana (going on foot on the last journey till the body falls).⁹

1. N, I. 15. 48, 22-23.
2. N, II, 25. 13; 3.17.
3. N, I. 15. 24-25.
4. N, II. 10. 44.
5. Cf. Prāyaścitta infre. p. P. 359-368.
6. N, I. 43. 64-67; 24. 19-22, 12.
7. Cf. Śrāddha, infra,
8. N, I. 24. 30-32.
9. N, I. 24. 13-16.

Kṣatriya

According to Nārada, the Kṣatriya studies the Vedas, archery, etc., and rules over the Kingdom.¹ He offers gift to the Brāhmaṇas, performs sacrifices, gives protection to the good and punishes the wicked.² In times of danger, a Kṣatriya is allowed to follow the occupation of a Vaiśya, but not that of a Śūdra.³

Vaiśya

Vaiśya studies the Vedas and engages in commerce and agriculture.

Śūdra

A Śūdra serves all the three castes and performs duties like dāna. He is not entitled to perform Pākayajña, etc.⁴

Caṇḍāla

The Nārada Purāṇa contains only scanty references about Caṇḍāla. A dvija, who takes to the vocation of a Śūdra, though in adverse conditions, becomes a Caṇḍāla.⁵ A person, who has undertaken the vow of Upavāsa (fast), should not look at the Caṇḍālas, patitas (fallen ones), etc.⁶ Elsewhere, it is said that according to the Purāṇa, Caṇḍāla's birth is by three ways, by being (i) born of a Kumārī (unmarried girl), (ii) born of sagotra marriage (parents from the same gotra) and (iii) born of a Brāhmaṇa woman from a Śūdra.

Āśramas and their Dharmas in the Nārada Purāṇa

The four Āśramas (stages of life) are Brahmacharya (student-life), Gārhasthya (householder-life), Vānaprastha (forest-dwelling) and Saṁnyāsa (hermit's life). Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas alone are to follow this order.⁷ For the protection dharma Brahmā founded these Āśramas.⁸

1. N, I. 43. 67-68.
2. N, I. 24. 23-24.
3. N, I. 24. 31.
4. N, I. 43. 69-70; 24. 27. 28.
5. N, I. 24. 32.
6. N, I. 23. 24.
7. N. I. 24. 32-34.
8. N, I. 43. 105.

Brahmacarya

Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya are called dvijas (twice born) because of their two births, the first from the mother's womb and the other through upanayana.¹

The rules regarding upanayana and Brahmacarya are given by Nārada, a summary of which is given below.²

Between 8 and 16 years after conception or birth for a Brāhmaṇa, 11 and 22 for a Kṣatriya and 12 and 24 for a Vaiśya is the right time for upanayana. The Mekhalā (girdle) prescribed for Brāhmaṇa is of Muñjā-grass, for a Kṣatriya of bow-string and for a Vaiśya of Āvī (wool). The skin to be worn by the three respective Varṇas is that of Eṇa (black antelope), Raurava (of a kind of deer), Aja (goat) and the wood for the daṇḍa (stick) is of Palāśa (butea frondosa), Udumbara (figus glomerata) and Bilva (the common wood-apple) respectively. The daṇḍa for a Brāhmaṇa is to reach up to his hair up to the forehead for a Kṣatriya and up to the nose for a Vaiśya. The clothes prescribed are of Kāṣāya (saffron colour), Mañjiṣṭha (dyed with madder) and Hari-drā (yellow) colours respectively.

After upanayana, until completion of the study of the Vedas, the boy is to stay with the teacher. After bath early in the morning, he brings fuel, Kuśā, fruits, etc., for the teacher. If the Yajñopavīta (sacred thread), ajina (deer skin) or daṇḍa is lost or destroyed, he should take a new one depositing the remnants, if any, of the former in the water. He should live on food collected by begging from Śrotṛiyas (sacrificers). While begging, Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas should use the word 'bhavat' (in "bhavati bhikṣām dehi") in the beginning, middle and the end respectively. Brahmajña (one of the five daily sacrifices), tarpaṇa (oblation of water) and agnikārya (tending the fire) should be performed daily followed by the propitiation of gods and service to the teacher. Bhikṣā is accepted only from good people and should be taken only after offering it to his teacher and with his permission. Never should he sustain himself with one meal. He should avoid madhu (honey), strī (woman), māṁsa (flesh), lavaṇa (salt), tāmbūla (betel leaf), dantadhāvana (cleaning of

1. N, I. 24. 8.

2. N, I. 25.

teeth), ucchiṣṭabhojana (eating left-over food), divāsvāpaṁ (sleeping during day time), chatra (umbrella), Pādukā (foot-wear), gandha (perfumes), mālya (garland), anulepana (ointments), jalakeli (aquatic sports), gīta (singing), nṛtya (dance), vādyā (musical instruments), añjana (collyrium), upatāpa (jealousy), parivāda (calumny), pāṣaṇḍajanasaṁyoga and Śūdrasaṅga (contact with heretics and Śūdras). He should pay respects to those superior to him in knowledge, austerity and age. The teacher by imparting Vedic knowledge commands special respect.

The twice-born should first announce himself before salutation and never should salute (the inferior Varṇas), Kṣatriya, etc. Those who are not to be saluted are nāstika (atheist) bhinna-maryāda (ill-behaved), kṛtaghna (ungrateful), grāmayājaka (sacrificer of a village), stena (thief), kitava (cheat), pāṣaṇḍa (heretic), patita (fallen one), nakṣatrajīvī (foreteller), pātakī (sinner), unmatta (lunatic or intoxicated), śaṭha (obstinate), dhūrta (scoundrel), dhāvanta (those who are running), aśuci (unclean), abhyaktaśiras (one with oil smeared on his head), vivādaśīla (quarrelsome), caṇḍa (vile), vamanta (vomitting), bhartṛghnī (husband-killer), sūtikā (practising midwifery), etc. Salutation in sabhā (assembly), yajñaśālā (fire-place) and devatāyatana (in a temple) absolves one of the puṇya (merit) acquired by him till then. One who is engaged in śrāddha, vrata, dāna, yajña, tarpaṇa and devatādarśana (visit to God or propitiation of gods) is not to be saluted. One, who does not respond to a salutation, is equal to a Śūdra, and he is not to be saluted.

One should wash his teacher's feet and sip the water and after touching teacher's feet begin the studies sitting face to face.

Studies should not be performed on the Aṣṭakās, Caturdaśī, Pratipadā, the two Parvas, Mahābharaṇī, Śravaṇa-Dvādaśī, Bhādra-Kṛṣṇa-Dvitiyā, Māgha-Śukla-Saptamī, Āśvins-Śukla-Navamī, when there is Pariveśa (aureole) around the Sun, when a Vedic scholar comes as a guest, when the (limbs of a) Brāhmaṇa is tied, when there is a quarrel raging, in the twilights, during untimely rains, thunder, fall of meteor, lightning, when a Brāhmaṇa is insulted, on the Yugādi and the Manvādi tithis.

i. The Yugādi tithis are :

Vaiśākha-Śukla-Trītiyā, Bhādra-Kṛṣṇa-Trayodaśī, Kārtika-Śukla-Navamī and Māgha-Pūrṇimā.

ii. The Manvādi tithis are :

Āśvina-Śukla-Navamī, Kārtika-Śukla-Dvādaśī, Caitra-Śukla-trītiyā, Bhādra-Śukla-trītiyā, Āṣāḍha-Śukla-Daśamī, Māgha-Śukla-Saptamī, Śrāvaṇa-Kṛṣṇa-Aṣṭamī, Āṣāḍha-Pūrṇimā, Phālguna-Amāvāsyā, Pauṣa-Śukla-Ekādaśī, Kārtika-Pūrṇimā, Phālguna-Pūrṇimā, Caitra Pūrṇimā and Jyeṣṭha-Pūrṇimā.

Elsewhere¹, the characteristics of a Brahmācārī are enumerated as purification of body and mind, observance of niyamas and vratas, self control, worship at the twilights, tending the fire, study of the Vedas, continence, service to the teacher, pleasing the teacher and begging.

Gṛhastha

Dharma, Artha and Kāma are attained during this stage. One should earn wealth through professions like teaching, etc., and should settle down with his wife². A householder's duties are described as follows³ :

After completion of the study of the Vedas, Dharmaśāstras and Vedāṅgas, a twice-born shall perform Agniparigraha (keep Gārhapatya fire) and enter the house after paying the teacher the due fees and with his permission. He should marry a girl who is suguṇā (virtuous), rūpalāvaṇyasampūrṇā (beautiful), sukulodbhavā (of good family), suśīlā (good natured), dharmācārīṇī (of good conduct), mātṛtaḥ pañcamī (fifth in the degree from maternal side) and pitṛtaḥ saptamī (seventh from the paternal side). The girl to be chosen should not be rogiṇī (sickly), vṛttākṣī (round eyed), sarogakulasambhavā (with hereditary disease), atikeśā and akeśā (with superfluous hair or bald-headed), vācālā (talkative), kopanā (ill tempered), dīrghadehā (very tall or fat), virūpiṇī (ugly), nyūnādhikāṅgī (with superfluous or deficient limbs), unmattā (mad), puruṣākṛti (manly), piśunā (miserly), śmaśruvyañjanasamyuktā (with hair lines over the lips and chin), kubjā (hunch-backed), etc.

The eight types of marriages listed in order of merit are, Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Prājāpatya, Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākṣasa and Paiśāca. The first three are prescribed for a Brāhmaṇa.

1. N, I. 43. 103-107.

2. N, I. 43. 107-109.

3. N, I. 26; 27. 1-84.

After marriage, the householder is to wear in an uttariya (upper garment), two yajñopavītas (sacred threads), earings and a pair of white garments. He should file his nails neatly and should arrange the hair, use ointment, carry a bamboo-stick, a kamaṇḍalu (water jar), an umbrella, and wear an uṣṇīṣa (turban) and foot-wear. He should keep himself presentable by using garlands and perfumes. He should daily perform Vedic studies, should not eat others' food, avoid calumny, should not cross over others' legs or remnants of food, should not scratch his head with both hands simultaneously, should not circumambulate in the anticlockwise direction, a temple or a place of worship, cow, Aśvattha, caitya vṛkṣa (holy fig tree), fire, mountain, a king, etc. Wearing a single garment and leaving hair untied while performing vratas, Śrāddha and worship of deities, etc., are forbidden. A Gṛhastha should not approach others' women and should avoid jealousy, rivalry and sleep during day time. One's own name, star, status and merits should never be disclosed. He is to avoid speaking of others' sins and contact with bad people. Drinking liquor, gambling, music, physical contact with a Śūdra, patita, serpent, bone, etc., are also prohibited. After touching a Caṇḍāla, devalaka, funeral pyre, etc., he should take bath with clothes on. He should avoid śūrpavāta (air from a sifter), pretadhūma (smoke from the funeral pyre), Śūdrānnabhojana (food of a Śūdra), vṛṣālī-patisaṅga (contact with husband of a bad woman), khādanam nakhakeśayoḥ (bitting hair and nails), nagnaśayana (sleeping naked), etc.

The Gṛhastha is obliged to perform the Darśa and Paurṇamāsa sacrifices and Śrāddhas prescribed on Ayanas, Viṣuva, Yuga, Darśa, Manvādi Tithis, Aṣṭakās, Yugādi Tithis, etc.

Waking up during the Brāhma muhūrta, he should think over the ways and means of his livelihood, which are not against the four human pursuits. While answering the first call of nature he should face north during the day and the twilights and the south during night with the Brahmasūtra on his ear and covering his head with a garment. He should not answer the calls of nature on a road, in a cow-shed, on river-banks, near lakes, houses, in the shade of trees, in woods, in the vicinity of fire, temple, garden, cross-roads, Brāhmaṇas, cows teacher, in water, etc.

Then he should clean his body. Cleaning may be internal or external. The external cleaning is by soil and water, whereas the internal is mental. The Gṛhasṭha, Brahmācārī, Vanastha and Yati should clean once, twice, thrice and four times respectively. These rules are relaxed in times of danger and sickness.

After cleaning he should perform ācamana (sipping) and mārjana (sprinkling of water over the body) with specified fingers. Brushing the teeth is to be followed by bathing. While bathing the necessary mantras are to be recited and the Sun propitiated by oblations of water. Seated facing the Īśāna, i. e., the north-east direction, Sandhyā is to be performed chanting Gāyatrī.

A Gṛhasṭha should bathe twice, i. e., in the morning and at noon, whereas the Vānaprastha and Yati are to bathe thrice a day. This is followed by the five Mahāyajñas viz., Deva, Bhūta, Pitṛ, Nṛ and Brahma which are performed daily. He should take his meals in the company of his relatives and friends.

The stage of a householder is held to be the source and support of the three stages of life, for, the Brahmācārī, Parivrājaka, etc., are sustained by the alms offered by a householder. By the performance of the Mahāyajñas, by the libation of water, by Vedic study and by ensuring the continuity of the family line through the progeny, the house-holder gratifies the gods, manes, sages and Prajāpati respectively.¹

Vānaprastha

The householder enters the next stage of life, i. e., Vānaprastha, after leaving his wife in the care of the sons or taking her along with him to the forest. The Vānaprastha (forest-dweller) is to take bath thrice daily, allow his hair and nails to grow, sleep on bare ground, observe celibacy, perform the five daily sacrifices, eat only fruits and roots, and engage himself in Vedic studies. He should avoid flowers and fruits of the village and eating at night. He should be kind to all beings, limit the intake of food to eight mouthfuls, avoid oil, exertion, sleep and indolence. Always remembering Nārāyaṇa, he should also perform austerities like Cāndrāyaṇa, bear heat and cold, and tend the fire daily.

1. N, I, 43. 110-118.

The Vānaprastha is to visit the various holy places, perform penance, avoid worldly dresses, and practise Yoga.¹

Saṁnyāsi

When the Vānaprastha becomes gradually disinterested in worldly things, he should take to Saṁnyāsa. He should study Vedānta (philosophy). He should be Śānta (mild), dānta (self-controlled), devoid of haughtiness and ego. He should not indulge in pleasures or get angry. He should be completely nude or may wear a tattered loin-cloth and should have a clean shaved head.² To him there is no distinction between friend and foe or praise and insult. As an eternal wanderer, he does not remain in a village for more than a night and in a town for more than three nights. Alms, collected from the door of the twice born of good conduct, are his only means of livelihood. He should not undertake the vow of taking food only once a day, etc. He should bathe thrice a day, chant the Praṇava and with all senses controlled should meditate upon Nārāyaṇa. The Parivrājaka should observe non-violence, visit temples and holy places, and should deposit all the fires in himself and perform Agnihotra (consecration of sacred fire) through his own mouth or face. The Yati then becomes radiant as the burning embers and attains Brahma loka.³

The information given by the Nāradiya is similar to that described in the Mahābhārata.⁴

In his treatment of Varṇāśramadharma Nārada generally follows the line of thought propounded by earlier texts. Deviations, if any, are not of any importance. Often his account seems to have been totally borrowed from others, as the general principles were too rigid to be changed.

iii. Dāna (Gift)

“.....dāna consists in the cessation of one's ownership over a thing and creating the ownership of another over that thing and

1. N, I. 27. 85-91; 43. 120-122.

2. N, I. 27. 91-104.

3. N, I. 43. 122-127.

4. Mbh, XII. 181-185; Purāṇa, V. 2. pp. 293-296.

this last occurs when the other accepts the thing, which acceptance may be mental or vocal or physical."¹

The Manu Smṛti and the Purāṇas hold that dāna is of utmost merit in Kali, as austerity, knowledge (metaphysical) and sacrifices are in Kṛta, Tretā and Dvāpara respectively. According to Yama, dāna is the characteristic feature of householders. Dāna has been eulogised from the Ṛgveda onwards. The cow is the best gift that can be offered.² Next in importance is a horse. But, the Kāthaka Samhitā³ prohibits the acceptance of the gift of a horse, because it has two rows of teeth. According to Devala that is described as dāna when wealth is given according to Śāstric rites so as to reach a receiver who is a fit recipient as defined in the Śāstra"⁴ The gifts made inside the vedī of the Śrauta sacrifices come under Iṣṭa, while dedication of wells and tanks, temples, distribution of food, maintaining public gardens, etc., come under Pūrta.⁵ The Smṛtis mention the performance of Iṣṭa and Pūrta Dharma to all twice-born, but authorise the Śūdra only to Pūrta dharma, not the Vaidika Dharma.⁶ According to Dakṣa, the gifts made to one's parents, guru, friend, to a well-conducted man, to the poor and helpless, etc., bring merit, whereas gifts offered to rogues, bards, wrestlers, gamblers, thieves, etc., are fruitless. Manu, Viṣṇu Dharma-sūtra, etc., give a list of persons to whom gifts should not be offered. The Mārkaṇḍeya and the Matsya state that whatever is most desirable and what one prizes most, may be given as gift.⁷

Dāna is classified as : (a) Nitya-whatever is given every day (such as food after Vaiśvadeva, etc.), (b) Naimittika-what is given at certain specified time (such as on eclipses) or on account of

1. HD, II. 2. p. 841.
2. Manu, I. 86; Vā, 8.65-66; N, I. 41-89; RV, I. 125; I. 126. 1-5; V. 61, etc.; HD, II. 2, p. 837.
3. Śabara on Jaimini, III. 4.28; KS, XII. 6; HD, II. 2. p. 839.
4. Devala, q. by Aparārka, p. 287; HD, II. 2. p. 842.
5. Mbh, q by Aparārka, p. 290; HD, II. 2, p. 844.
6. Atri, 46; Likhita, 6; HD, II. 2. p. 845.
7. Dakṣa, III. 17-18; Manu, IV. 193-200; VDS, 93. 7-13; Mār, 35. 52-53; M, 72. 39; HD, II. 2. pp. 845-847.

doing certain acts (such as penance for lapses), and (c) Kāmya what is given through the desire of securing progeny, victory, prosperity, heaven or a wife. The Kūrma according to Hemādri, adds to these three, another, viz, Vimala, which is defined as that given with a mind full of devotion to those who know Brahma for securing the grace of God.¹

The Smṛtis and the Purāṇas also specify places where gifts are to be made.²

The topic of dāna is discussed in two whole chapters in the Nārada Purāṇa.³ The offer of a gift is to be made only to a Brāhmaṇa and never to a Kṣatriya, Vaiśya (or Śūdra).⁴

Nārada divides dāna into three as (a) Uttama (best) gift offered with devotion and remembering Viṣṇu; (b) Madhyama (mediocre) or Kāmya that offered with a desire of gaining happiness here or hereafter; and (c) Adhama⁵ (inferior) that offered with pride or anger with the intention of causing harm to others and offered without (observing) vidhi (rule) or Bhakti (devotion). The Vedic Seers, Nārada adds, divide dāna into three as (a) Uttama for pleasing Hari, (b) Madhyama for the realisation of one's wishes, and (c) Adhama for Valiṭoṣa (for pleasing Vali)⁶.

Elsewhere Nārada divides it into two, viz. one that is for the other world, and the other that is for this world. Dāna offered to the Sat (good) will fructify in the other world, and that given to the Asat (bad), in this world. He adds that the effect of dāna will be in accordance with its performance.⁷

Among the objects of dāna referred to by Nārada, the gift of land is of the greatest importance. Eulogising land-gift the story of Bhadramati is narrated.⁸ The other objects of gifts are⁹: Prāṇa

1. Devala, q. by Aparārka, p. 289 and Hemādri (Dāna, p. 16); K, q by Hemādri (Dāna, p. 17); cf. also HD, II. 2. p. 848.

2. SK, q. by Hemādri (Dāna, 83); HD, II. 2. p. 854.

3. N, I. 12-13.

4. N, I. 12. 2-3.

5. The text here wrongly gives 'Madhyama', N, I. 12.22.

6. N, I. 12. 19-23.

7. N, I. 43. 100-101.

8. Cf., Stories Supra.

9. N, I. 9. 61; 1. 29; 13. 95-113; 17. 60, 37; 13.71; 17. 94. 109; 119. 14-17, 54-58; Chs. 92-109.

(life), jñāna (knowledge), suvarṇa (gold), ratna (jewel), yāna (vehicles), lavaṇa (salt), indhana (fuel), śālagrama, liṅga, gandha (sandal paste), jala (water), go (cow), aśva (horse), gaja (elephant), tāmbūla (betal leaves), Kṣīra (milk), ghṛta (ghee), madhu (honey), dadhi (curds), ikṣu (sugar cane), nālikera (coconut), tila (sesamum), anna, the idols of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa, ten incarnations, ten Āṅgiras Gods, etc. and Purāṇa manuscripts.

Nārada also specifies the names of places, where gift given bring good results¹. Dāna at Puruṣottama is said to yield 1000 times more merit than at any other tīrthas.² Dāna performed on the banks of the Gaṅgā is also of immense merit³. At the same time, to accept a gift at tīrthas and in temples is prohibited.⁴ Dāna offered by angry people with no devotion, at odd times, on Pūrva viddha tithis, and to the undeserving, goes to asuras (demons). A similar result is to be expected, if dāna is offered to patitas (fallen ones), strījitas (hen-pecked), offered without water, with punaḥ-kīrtana (superfluity)⁵, etc.

Dāna should not be offered to one who is putrahīna (sonless), caṇḍa (wicked), svakarmatyāgī (one who has given up his duties), parādārarata (adulterer), paradravayābhilāṣī (avaricious), Kṛta-ghna (ungrateful), asūyāviṣṭāmanas (jealous), nakṣatransūcaka (bad astrologer), vedavikrayī (one who sells the Vedas), Smṛtīvikrayī (one who sells Smṛtis), dharmavikrayī (one who sells dharma), nāmavikrayīṇo viṣṇoḥ (those who trade in the Lord's Name) gānena jīvikā yasya (one who lives by music), pākakartā (cook) paropātāpī (one who hurts others), Śūdra-śavadāhī (one who burns the dead body of a Śūdra)⁶ etc.

Similarly, Nārada gives a list of Brāhmaṇas who are fit to be called for a funeral repast⁷. This proves that a Brāhmaṇa was considered to be superior not so much by his birth as by his qualities.

1. Cf. Tīrthas, *infra*.
2. N, II. 58. 11.
3. N, II, 41. 42-43.
4. N, II. 63. 121.
5. N, II. 2. 41-43.
6. N, I. 12. 4-17.
7. Cf. Śrāddha, *infra*.

In dāna also Nārada sticks more or less to the line of thought propounded by early writers. Except perhaps a few random suggestions and changes he has nothing new to offer.

iv. Prāyaścitta (*Expiation*)

Pātaka or sin is defined as "an act which is regarded as a wilful rebellion against or disobedience of some law supposed to be laid down by God or Revelation; it is opposition to the will of God manifested in an authoritative work or at least failure to abide by the regulations contained therein".¹ The doctrine of sin can be traced to the Ṛgveda, where the word 'ṛta' is used to mean moral conduct of man.² Prayers are directed to the gods, like Varuṇa, and Ādityas for forgiveness and freedom from the consequences of sin, in which connection several words such as āgas, enas agha, durita, duṣkṛta, drugdha, amhas, etc., are employed in the sense of sin or guilt.³ The Ṛgveda also enumerates and classifies the sinful acts. Thus drinking of surā (liquor) and playing dice were regarded as sinful.⁴ There are also passages which prove that the murder of a Brāhmaṇa was regarded from very ancient times as the gravest of all sins.⁵ The Chāndogya Upaniṣad⁶ specifies the five great sinners as the thief of gold, the drinker of surā, the violator of guru's bed, the murderer of a Brāhmaṇa and one who associates with any of the preceding four. According to the Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, sins may be patanīya, i.e., those that cause in ex-communication, and aśucikāra, those that cause impurity, but without ex-communication. The patanīya sins include theft of gold, complete loss by neglect of Vedic learning secured by study, destruction of foetus, drinking of surā, constant commission of immoral acts, etc. The latter include the cohabitation of Ārya women with Śūdras or of Ārya men with apapātra (of low caste) women, eating the flesh of forbidden animals, partaking of food left by a Śūdra, etc.⁷ Since ancient

1. HD, IV. p. 1.
2. RV, I. 90.6; V. 12.2; X. 87.11, etc.; HD, IV. p. 4.
3. RV, VII. 86; VIII. 45.34; II. 29.1; VII. 89.5; II. 28.5. etc.; HD, IV. p. 5.
4. RV, VII. 86.6; HD, IV. p. 10.
5. Tt. S, II. 5. 1.2; Ś, Br, XIII. 3.1.1; HD, IV. p. 10.
6. CU, V, 10.9; HD, IV. p. 12.
7. ADS, I. 7.21. 7-11, 12-18; HD, IV. pp. 12-13.

times, the means of escaping the consequences of sins were confession, anutāpa (repentance) prāṇāyāma (restraint of breath), tapas (austerity), homa (sacrifice to fire), japa (chanting of prayers), upavāsa (fast), dāna (gift) and tīrthayātrā (pilgrimage). Thus, Manu and Gautama provide that the Vedic student guilty of sexual intercourse has to proclaim his sin while begging at seven doors. Manu and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa enjoin repentance to free oneself from sin.¹ According to the Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra all the sins committed by day or in the night are destroyed by the performance of three prāṇāyāmas. Performance of austerities free even those quality of the five vilest crimes from their sins and burns all the sins committed by people in thought, word and deed.² For a twice born who commits grave sins, Yājñavalkya prescribes the performance of homa with sesamum, chanting the Gāyatrīmantra.³ The sins which are committed unintentionally are expiated by the recitation of Vedic texts, which are held to be more efficacious than the performance of sacrifices.⁴

The Purāṇas⁵ hold that the mere remembrance of Lord Nārāyaṇa is capable of removing all sins. Upavāsa (fast), though it strictly means total abstinence from food and drinks, is generally regarded to mean light diet, with the quantity and nature of the articles taken being restricted. The Taittirīya Saṁhitā refers to vrata performed by living only on food available in the village or on forest-food or eating no food at all.⁶ Tīrthayātrā (pilgrimage) and dāna are dealt with elsewhere.⁷

The word 'Prāyaścitti' and 'Prāyaścitta' occur in the Vedic works without distinction of meaning. In the Taittirīya Saṁhitā⁸ the word Prāyaścitti is used to mean expiation for a sin. Prāyaś-

1. Manu, XI, 122; GDS, 23.18; Manu, XI. 229-230; Vi, II. 6.40; HD, IV. p. 41.
2. VSDS, 26. 1-3; Manu. XI. 239-241; HD, IV. pp. 42-43.
3. Yājñ. III, 309; HD, IV. p. 44.
4. Manu, XI. 46; II. 85-87; HD, IV; pp. 46-47.
5. B. Ch. 176; Bhv, q. by Prāyaścitta Viveka. p. 31; Vi, II. 6.39, etc.; HD, IV. p. 50.
6. Tt. S. I. 6-7. 3-4; HD, IV. p. 52.
7. Cf. Dāna, supra. and Tīrthas infra.
8. Tt. S. V. 3.12.1; HD, IV. p. 57.

cittas may be Kratvartha, prescribed in the Śrauta Sūtras or Puruṣārtha described in the Smṛti works on Prāyaścitta. The word Prāyaścitta is derived from 'Prāya' meaning 'tapas' and 'Citta' meaning 'resolve' or 'firm belief'. The Prāyaścittas are so called "because of their association with or emergence from a resolve to undergo tapas or because of the firm belief that it will be a means of the removal of sin".¹

Let us now turn to Nārada to find out what he has to say with regard to Prāyaścitta. The five vilest criminals are enumerated by Nārada as brahmahā (murderer of a Brāhmaṇa), surāpī (drunkard), steṇī (gold thief), gurutalpaga (violator of teacher's bed) and tat-saṁsargī (one who associates with the above mentioned).

The five sinners counted as the equals of a murderer of a Brāhmaṇa are : pañktibhedī (one who defiles a society of persons), vṛthāpākī (one who cooks for one's own use), Nityaṁ Brāhmaṇadūṣaka (one who cavils Brāhmaṇas usually), ādeśī (one who does acts forbidden by the king) and Vedavikretā (a seller of the Vedas). Again, an obstructor of a Brāhmaṇa on his way to bathe or worship, a liar, one who is unrighteous, one who hurts others or speaks ill of others, etc. also are considered as Brahmahā.²

One who kills a Brāhmaṇa unknowingly should, as expiation, wander in the jungle for 12 years with a human skull in hand and wearing bark for a garment. During this period, he should observe the rules of a hermit's life, bathe thrice daily and engage himself in the worship of Nārāyaṇa and take food only once a day. The sin is expiated at the end of 12 years. Alternatively, he may devote his life for the welfare of cows and Brāhmaṇas. A gift of ten thousand cows made over to a virtuous Brāhmaṇa is also said to wash off the sins of Brāhmaṇa murder.³

The sins equivalent to surāpāna are : eating the food of a gaṇa (mass), patita, Śūdra, or of a devala (temple priest), keeping relations with a prostitute or with a woman who is drunk, serving Śūdra, etc.⁴

1. HD, IV. pp. 58-59.

2. N, I. 15. 22-29.

3. N, I. 30. 7-14.

4. N, I. 15. 30-34.

In order to expiate the sin of drinking liquor, one has to drink boiling milk, ghee or cow's urine. By killing himself by this way the sin is expiated. But, if the liquor is taken for medical purposes, the thread ceremony of the sinner is to be performed again, followed by the performance of two Cāndrāyaṇas.¹

The sins which are equivalent to the theft of gold are; stealing fruits, roots, musk, jewels, copper, zinc, iron, lead, ghee, honey, perfumes, betel-nut, sandal wood, water food-stuff, etc., avoiding of pitṛ-yajña and religious rites, defaming of a Yati, etc.²

For stealing gold belonging to a Brāhmaṇa the sinner has to undergo Brahmahatyā vrata for 12 years, but without carrying a skull in hand. By stealing the same belonging to his teachers, sacrificers, the righteous, Śrotriyas, etc., he should burn himself in fire after smearing the body with ghee. A Kṣatriya, who steals the gold of a Brāhmaṇa and returns the same after repenting, has to undertake Sāntapana vrata, fasting for 12 years as expiation.³

In connection with the theft of gold, Nārada gives the following unit of measurement of gold, attributing it to Manu :

6 Paramāṇus (atoms)	=	Trasareṇu
8 Trasareṇus	=	Niṣka
3 Niṣkas	=	Rājasarṣapa
3 Rājasarṣapas	=	Gaura Sarṣapa
6 Gaura Sarṣapas	=	Yava
3 Yavas	=	Kṛṣṇala
5 Kṛṣṇalas	=	Māṣa
16 Māṣas	=	Suvarṇa. ⁴

Several expiations are prescribed for stealing gold of different measurements.⁵

The following sins are held to be equivalent to gurutalpa : incest with daughter, sister or daughter-in-law, a woman having her monthly course, a woman of lower caste, others' wives, sister-

1. N, I. 30. 24-29.
2. N, I. 15. 35-40.
3. N, I. 30-38-43.
4. N, I. 30. 34-38.
5. N, I. 30. 44-50.

in-law, friend's wife, etc., performance of the rites in odd times or improper times defaming Śāstras, loss of dharma, etc.¹

A person committing intercourse with one's own mother, step-mother or teacher's wife unknowingly can expiate the sin by ending his life by cutting his own genital organ.² Elsewhere it is said that if a person has sexual intercourse (knowingly) with his own mother, daughter, sister, daughter-in-law or teacher's wife, he should burn himself in fire whereas, if he does it with a queen, pravrajitā (nun), dhātrī (nurse), a woman of the gotra (family) of his mother or father, or belonging to a higher Varṇa, has to perform two Kṛcchra vratas.³

Accidental contact with four of the above types of sinners requires the performance of Kāyakṛcchra, if the duration is five days; Mahāsāntapana vrata, if it is 12 days; 12 days fast for 15 days; Parāka for one month; Cāndra vrata for three months; two Cāndrāyaṇas for six and six month vrata for one year. The same is to be performed three times, if the contact is made deliberately.⁴

Expiations also are prescribed for killing maṇḍūka (frog), nakula (Mongoose), kāka (crow), varāha (boar), mūṣaka (mouse), mārjāra (cat), aja (a ram), śvāna (dog), kukkuṭa (cock), aśva (horse), karī (elephant), go (cow), etc. For intentional killing of a cow there is no expiation.⁵ But the expiation like Kṛcchra, Taptakṛcchra, Sāntapana, etc. are prescribed for sins like (unintentional) killing of a cow and other lesser sins. Offering gifts is also prescribed as Prayaścitta.⁶ The expiation differed according to the Varṇa also. If a Brāhmaṇa kills a dīkṣita (sacrificer) Kṣatriya, he should undergo Brahmahatyā vrata, agnipraveśa (entering the fire), or marutprapatana (throwing oneself into the air and ending life). A similar expiation is to be performed twice for killing a dīkṣita Brāhmaṇa, four times in the case of ācārya (preceptor) and Sāmhvatsara vrata in the case of an ordinary Brāhmaṇa. If the killer be a Kṣatriya or a Vaiśya, the same expiations

1. N, I. 15. 40-44.

2. N, I. 30. 56-57.

3. N, I. 14. 33-35.

4. N, I. 30. 68-73.

5. N, I. 30. 74-80.

6. N, I. 14. 45-46; Cf. Fauna, infra.

prescribed above should be performed twice and three times respectively. If the killer is a Śūdra he is termed as *mausalya* (to be powdered or put to death with a club), to be punished by the king. On the other hand, a Brāhmaṇa killing a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya has to perform *Kṛcchra* for six years and three years respectively.¹ This shows that the expiations for crimes depended upon the *varṇa* of the parties concerned. Besides, the prohibition for killing the various birds and animals were looked upon with veneration in the Purāṇic age.

But, whereas these sins can be removed by the expiations said to be prescribed by the seers, there are some sins which are called *samasta pāpa* (entire sins), leading the sinner to *Mahā-narakas* (great hells), as no expiation has been prescribed for the same. Such sins, which have no remedy, are: Brāhmaṇa *dveṣa* (hostility to Brāhmaṇas), betrayal of the trusted, un-gratefulness, contact with a Śūdra woman, living on Śūdra's food, defaming the Vedas and noble stories, entering a *Bauddhālaya* (Buddhist temple) by a Brāhmaṇa knowingly though due to force of circumstance, etc.²

v. Karmavipāka

The *Smṛtis* and *Purāṇas* declare that the sinners who do not perform the necessary atonement have to suffer the consequences. Thus according to *Yājñavalkya*, such sinners fall into hells. After the sufferings in the hells they are born as lower animals, insects, trees and shrubs, etc., as a result of their evil actions. According to *Manu*, the sinners who do not perform the necessary penance are also born with disgraceful marks or with malformations³. The *Vedānta Sūtra* states that the sinner after enjoying the fruits of his actions in the abode of *Yama* is born as a mortal in the world. It also states the number of hells to be seven, whereas the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* names them as *Tāmisra*, *Andhatāmisra*, *Mahāraurava*, *Raurava*, *Asipatravana*, *Kālasūtra* and *Avīci*⁴. *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya*, the *Agni Purāṇa*, etc., name the 21 *narakas*, whereas the

1. N, I. 30. 15-22.

2. N. I. 15. 45-55.

3. *Yājñ*, III. 221, 206 ff; *Manu*, XII. 54 ff.; XI. 53, 48; HD, IV. p. 153.

4. *Ved. S.* III. 1. 13, 15; *Vi*, I. 6. 41; HD, IV. p. 162.

Mārkaṇḍeya, Padma, and Bhaviṣya Purāṇas mention several narakas and punishments meted out to various kinds of sinners¹.

Karmavipāka (fruition of evil deeds) refers to the torments of the hells and which a sinner has to suffer as stated above.² The Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya³ and other works state that the investigation on Karmavipāka, is an Arthavāda and that it is meant to induce sinners to undergo the necessary Prāyaścittas. With all these terrifying accounts of the tortures of hells, the doctrine of Karmavipāka holds a ray of hope to the soul, which is prepared to undergo torments for its evil deeds, that it may, after the long process of evolution, be able to realise its true nature and attain eternal peace.

Nārada names the hells as Tavana, Vālukā, Kumbha, Raurava, Mahāraurava, Kumbhīpāka, Nirucchvāsa, Kālasūtra, Pramardana, Asipatravana, Lālābhakṣa, Himotkaṭa, Mūṣavasthā, Vasākūpa and Vaitaraṇī⁴. All sinners are sent to the hell where they undergo various punishments.⁵ The path of a righteous soul is said to be easy, whereas the path of an un-righteous soul or a sinner is said to be difficult, for on the way the sinners suffer from parched throat, lips and mouth. They are beaten and drawn here and there by Yamabhaṭas (servants of Yama) who drag them by their nose, etc. On the way, they have to negotiate paṅk (mire), fire, razor-sharp rocks, thorny trees, dark caves, high wells, terrible mounts, etc., and face various types of beasts. The length of the Yama-mārga (Yama's road) is said to be 86,000 yojanas.⁶

The description of the hells and the account of the tortures which the sinners are subjected to are given by the Nāradiya. Purīṣabhrada (ordure-tank), tapta-śūla (hot spear), tapta-śilā (hot rock), śālmālī druma (silk cotton tree), śoṇita-kūpa (blood well),

1. Manu, IV. 86-90; Yājñ, III. 222-224; Ag, 371. 20-22; P, Uttara, 227, Pātāla, 48; Bhv, Brahma Parva, 192. 11-27, Uttara Parva, 5-6; Mār, ch. 12; HD, IV. pp. 162-164.
2. HD, IV. p. 172.
3. Yājñ, III. 216; HD, IV. p. 177.
4. N, I. 15. 3-5.
5. N, I. 15.2.
6. N. I. 31. 1-11.

kṣārodaka (acid-water), uṣṇatoya (hot water), etc., are said to be the means of torture in the hells. The sinners are forced to eat and drink excretions, semen, smoke, salt, their own flesh, phlegm, hot water and oil, bitter concoctions, etc., and experience the rain of stones, sawing of the body, cutting by machines, beating by pestle, stick and club, rending of the bones, falling from the top of trees, tying to thorns, biting of ants and scorpions, mauling by tiger and other beasts, breaking of teeth, carrying huge weights, etc.¹

The beings, which are thus bound to their karma (act) after enjoying the fruits of their merit in celestial places like heaven, or suffering the fruits of their sin (in the hells) and coming to the end of the effects of their deeds, are born in the mortal world, at first as immovable things like grass, creepers, plants, trees, mountains, etc. Then they are successively born as short-lived worms, beasts, domestic animals, etc., and finally as human beings. As humans they are first born in the lower castes like Carṃakāra (shoemaker), Caṇḍāla, Rajaka (washer-man), etc., with deficient or excessive limbs or as diseased persons².

The special type of tortures meant for different types of sinners are also described in detail by Nārada.³

VI. Śrāddha

Since the R̥gvedic period it was supposed that after cremation the spirit was endowed with an etherial body associated with Yama and the pitṛs.⁴

The Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Padma and other Purāṇas⁵ specify the pitṛs as seven, three of whom are formless and four are with forms. They are of different temperaments and they keep relation with different Ṛṣis. For example, the Barhiṣad pitṛs typical of Asura, Yakṣa, Gandharva, etc., keep association with Atri, and

1. N. I. Ch. 15.

2. N. I. Ch. 32.

3. N. I. 15.56 ff.

4. RV, X. 14.1, 8; 15. 14; 16.5; HD, IV. p. 342.

5. Vā, 72.1; 73.60; Br, Upodghāta, 9. 53; P, V. 9. 2-3 etc., HD, IV. p. 344.

the Agniṣvāta pitṛs, belonging to the gods, with Marīci. "The seven pitṛs are said to be the sons of Vairāja Prajāpati, that is Vairāja Manu, who represents the manifestation of the formless Prāṇa or invisible universal parents incarnating in material manifestation or the corporeal modality of Matter."¹

The two halves of the egg, known as the upper and the lower i.e., the north and the south, are the regions of Puruṣa or devas and the Prakṛti or the pitṛs respectively, in Vedic cosmology. Thus, the pitṛs are associated with the south. The life principle is based on the mutual contact of Prāṇic Puruṣa and Prakṛti; therefore, the conception of north and south is relative. Among these different forms of Prāṇas, i.e., the pitṛs, the first three belong to the unmanifested plane of Puruṣa and the second four to the manifested plane of Prakṛti. The first three pitṛs, without enjoying anything remain as spectators.²

The word 'pitarah' is applied in Vedic literature mostly to the three immediate deceased male ancestors of a man.³ The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa gives the presentation formulae of the cakes to the father, grand-father and great grand-father.⁴ According to the Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, Śrāddha is to be performed in the later half of every month, preferably in the afternoon, the last days of the latter half of each month being preferable to the first days. The Anuśāsana Parva, Manusmṛti, Kūrma and other Purāṇas give directions for performing Śrāddhas.⁵

Only Brāhmaṇas were entitled to be invitees at a Śrāddha. Many of the Gṛhya Sūtras and Purāṇas give lists of Brāhmaṇas who are qualified to be invited at a Śrāddha,⁶ and also of those who are unfit to be invited for a Śrāddha.⁷ According to Manu,

1. Manu, 3. 196; M-A study, p. 103.
2. M-A study, pp. 102-103.
3. Tt. Br. I. 6.9.5; HD, IV. p. 343.
4. Ś. Br, II. 4. 2.19; HD, IV. p. 347.
5. ADS, II. 7. 16. 4-17; Manu, III. 276; Yajñ, I. 217-218; K, II. 20. 2-8; Mār, 28. 20 ff; HD, IV. pp. 370-371.
6. GDS, 15. 28; Manu, III. 185-186; M, 16. 7-13; Vā, 79. 56-59; K, II. 21. 1-14, etc., HD, IV. pp. 384-385.
7. GDS. 15. 16-19; Manu, III. 150-166; Vā, 83. 61-70; M, 16. 14-17; K, II. 21. 23-47, etc., HD, IV. p. 392.

the Brāhmaṇa invited at a Śrāddha and the performer should remain free from anger and passion and should not recite the Veda.¹ According to the Matsya Purāṇa,² both the performer of Śrāddha and the Brāhmaṇa invited to dine at it should not take another meal, should avoid journey, going in a vehicle, exertion, sexual union, study of the Veda, quarrel and sleep during day time. The Purāṇas give detailed description of the Amāvāsyā-Śrāddha, whereas the Mahāpitṛyajña and the Piṇḍapitṛyajña are dealt with in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa respectively.³

According to Nārada the performance of Śrāddha not only pleases gods and pitṛs, but also ensures progeny and happiness to the performer.⁴ When the pitṛs are pleased they give long life, wealth, etc. and even heaven and final salvation.⁵

Five types of Śrāddhas are mentioned, viz., Nitya, Naimittika, Kāmya, Vṛddhi and Pārvaṇa.⁶ But they are not defined. Elsewhere, Nāndiśrāddha and Vṛddhiśrāddha are said to be performed on special occasions like child-birth, and Ābhyudayika-śrāddha as one performed at the naming ceremony of the child.⁷ The Āmaśrāddha is performed with raw rice and only one who is travelling, sick or poor⁸ is allowed to perform it. While describing Kalpa, Vaiśvadevaśrāddha is referred to⁹.

The special occasions or days on which Śrāddha is to be performed are: the eclipses, the first days of Yugas and Ayanas, new moon day, Aṣṭakā days, birth of a child, death anniversary day, Viṣuvat days, arrival of a Śrotriya (Vedic scholar), visit to a holy place, and (beginning of) the harvest, etc.¹⁰

1. Manu, III. 188; HD, IV. p. 410.
2. M, 16. 27-28; q. by Śrāddhakriyakaumudī. p. 98; HD, IV. p. 410.
3. M, 17. 12-60; Vi, III. 15. 13-49; K, II. 22. 20-62, etc., HD, IV. p. 448; Tt. S, I. 8. 5. 1-2; Tt. Br, I. 2. 10; HD, IV. pp. 426-429.
4. N, I. 28. 82-84.
5. N, I. 51. 149-150.
6. N, I. 14. 79.
7. N, I. 25. 5-7.
8. N, I. 28. 77.
9. N, I. Ch. 51.
10. N, I. 25. 56; 26. 40-42; 51. 97-99.

The aparāhṇa (afternoon) is the proper time for the performance of Śrāddha, for, Brahmā is said to have assigned this time for the pitṛs. It is also said that Śrāddha is to be performed at Kṛtapa, i. e., the eighth part of the day when the Sun is mild. Offering made to pitṛs at this time becomes eternal. Hence kavya (oblation of food) is offered to the pitṛs during aparāhṇa. The untimely offer of kavya to the pitṛs becomes rākṣasa and does not reach the pitṛs. The same is the result if the kavya is offered in sāyāhṇa (evening). In such cases, the performer of Śrāddha and the one who partakes food therein reach hell.¹ But, Śrāddha on a tīrtha is said to be performed by one just after reaching the tīrtha, irrespective of the time being auspicious or not.² When a tithi extends up to a daṇḍa (measure of length equal to four hastas, i. e., cubits) on a day, and if the same tithi exists up to aparāhṇa, the first day should be accepted, if the tithi is in kṣaya (diminution) and the next day if the tithi is in vṛddhi (increase). If the tithi extends up to two muhūrtas (two ghaṭīs) on a day and up to Sāyāhṇa the next day, the next day is to be accepted for the performance of Śrāddha, though some prefer the first also.³

On the day previous to the Śrāddha the performer of a Śrāddha should take only one meal, sleep on the bare ground and observe celibacy. He has to avoid chewing betel-leaf, oil-bath, medicine, cleaning of teeth, contact with women, and eating food of others. The performer and the Brāhmaṇa, invitæe should avoid sleep during the day, long journey, quarrel, anger, exertion and lifting of weights⁴.

The invitation for Śrāddha should be extended to the Brāhmaṇas during the previous day or on the day of Śrāddha.⁵ The invitæe for Śrāddha should be a Brāhmaṇa, devotee of Viṣṇu, Vedic scholar, observer of his own duty, calm, of a good family, free from hatred and anger, knower of the meaning of Purāṇas, Smṛtis, Vedānata, etc., virtuous, server of his own gurus, and having regard for the welfare of the world, etc.⁶ A long list of Brāhmaṇas who are

1. N, I. 28. 19-25.
2. N, II. 62. 41-42.
3. N, I. 28. 26-29.
4. N, I. 28. 2-4.
5. N, I. 28. 19; 51.105.
6. N, I. 28. 6-10; 51. 99-102.

not fit to be invited at a Śrāddha is also given which includes one who has deficient or superfluous limbs, who is diseased, with ugly nails, nakṣatrapāṭhajīvi (bad astrologer), one who burns the dead body, temple-priest, defamer, scoundrel, one who takes the food of others, village sacrificer, one who studies evil sciences, kuṇḍa (the son of a woman by a man other than her husband while the husband is alive), gola (widow's bastard), parivettā (a younger brother married before the elder), who is not devoted to Viṣṇu or Śiva, who sells Vedas, Smṛti, vratas, mantras, etc., bard, poet, physician, vintner, etc.¹

In case suitable Brāhmaṇas be not available, one may prefer one's own brother, son, or oneself, but, never a Brāhmaṇa without Vedic knowledge.² In a Śrāddha two Brāhmaṇas are invited as representing Vaiśvadeva and three as representing the pitṛs,³ or one each representing gods and pitṛs. However, the invitees should be of even number in a Śrāddha.⁴

Vasu, Rudra and Ādityas are the Śrāddha devatās (Śrāddha deities).⁵

For Śrāddha two maṇḍalas (mystical diagrams) are made for the washing the feet of the Brāhmaṇas invited. A caturasra (square), if the performer be a Brāhmaṇa, trikoṇa (triangle) in the case of a Kṣatriya, Vartula (round) in the case of a Vaiśya and mere sprinkling of water in the case of a Śūdra.⁶ After washing the feet of Brāhmaṇas and offering water for shipping they are duly seated and Nārāyaṇa is worshipped. The sesame seeds are scattered at the door and among the Brāhmaṇas, chanting the Ṛk beginning with 'Apahata' (get away). The Vaiśvadevas are then seated invoked and are offered two pots of water for arghya (water respectfully offered for washing the hands), gandha (sandal paste), patra (leaf), puṣpa (flower), dhūpa (incense) and dīpa (illumination) chanting the appropriate mantras. With the permission of Vaiśvadevas, the pitṛgaṇas are then offered seat and

1. N, I. 28. 10-18; 51. 102-105.

2. N, I. 28. 34.

3. N, I. 28. 31-32.

4. N, I. 51. 107.

5. N, I. 51. 148.

6. N, I. 28. 32-33.

three pots of water for arghya. The Brāhmaṇas should be seated facing the east and the north in Vaiśvadevaśrāddha and Pitṛśrāddha respectively. Water is sprinkled and sesame seeds are scattered with the mantras 'Sām no devī' etc., and 'Tilosi' etc., respectively. The Pitṛs are invoked with the Ṛk 'Uśanta', etc., and are offered arghya, pādyā, gandha, patra, puṣpa, dhūpa, vasana (garment) and bhūṣaṇa (ornament) with the words 'yā divyā' etc. Two āhutis (oblations) are then made in the fire with the permission of the Brāhmaṇas Chanting the required mantras. In case the agni (fire) is absent, the āhutis are made in the palms of the Brāhmaṇa. Thereafter, the Brāhmaṇas are fed with various types of food, madhu (honey), māmsa (flesh), etc. The Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Dharmśāstras are recited to the Brāhmaṇas. At the end of their meals, piṇḍa (ball or lump of rice) is offered to the manes. Only one piṇḍa is offered on the death anniversary day, and three on the days of eclipse, etc. The Brāhmaṇas are then offered dakṣiṇā (gift) with tāmbūla (betel leaf) and gandha. In return, they bless the performer and the departed soul.¹ The piṇḍa should be offered mixed with tila facing the south. Afterwards the piṇḍa should be given to a cow, goat or to a Brāhmaṇa. Or else it may be deposited in fire or water.²

One who is sick, is poor or is on a journey, as stated earlier is allowed to perform Śrāddha with raw rice, which is known Āmaśrāddha. If the wife of the performer is in her monthly course, Śrāddha may be performed with a gift of gold. If worthy Brāhmaṇas are not available, or one is poor, Śrāddha can be performed by homa with rice chanting the pitṛsūkta. Śrāddha may be performed by offering saktu (barley meal), saṁyāva (cake of wheat flour), pāyasa (porridge), Badara (fruit of jujube tree), Āmalaka (fruit of the Emblic Myrobalan) or piṇyāka (oil-cake). If one is too poor to spend any thing, he may perform only tila-tarpaṇa (libations of water mixed with tila) to the pitṛs or give grass to the cows or declare loudly in a lonely jungle that he is a poor fellow and a great sinner. One has to perform tarpaṇa on the day following the Śrāddha; otherwise, he will incur the sin of Brahmahatyā and his family will be ruined.³

1. N, I. 28. 35-75.

2. N, I. 51. 121, 136-137.

3. N, II. 62. 39-40; I. 28. 77-81.

As long as a girl remains unmarried she belongs to the gotra (family) of the father with regard to pollution and offering of piṇḍa. But after marriage, she joins the gotra of her husband with regard to pollution and offering of piṇḍa.¹

Many tīrthas like Gayā, Gaṅgā, Avimukta, etc., are referred to, where performance of Śrāddha, offering of piṇḍa and tarpaṇa are considered to yield immense good.²

1. N, I. 14. 81-83.

2. Cf. Tīrthas, *infra*.

CHAPTER VII

The Nārada Purāṇa

i. *Composition, title and References in Different Works*

The Nārada Purāṇa or the Nāradiya Purāṇa is one of the 18 Mahāpurāṇas and is placed 6th in order by the Vāyu, Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Matsya, Skanda, Bhāgavata, Agni, Varāha, Padma, Bhaviṣya, Brahmavaivarta and Nārada itself, and 7th by the Kūrma, Liṅga, Skanda, Padma, Saura and Śiva Purāṇas.¹ The Padma Purāṇa mentions the Nārada Purāṇa as the nābhi (navel) of Viṣṇu and includes the Nārada among the six Sāttvika Purāṇas out of the 18 Mahāpurāṇas.² The Skanda Purāṇa recognises, the Nārada as one of Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas.³

The Bhaviṣya Purāṇa does not include the Nārada and the Brahmavaivarta among the 18 Mahāpurāṇas, but inserts instead the Vāyu and Nṛsiṃha Purāṇas in addition to the Brahmāṇḍa and Śiva Purāṇas.⁴ The Kūrma Purāṇa considers Nārada, Vāmana, Skanda, and the Brahmāṇḍa to be Upapurāṇas.⁵ The Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa refers to an Upapurāṇa called Nāradiya, and the Padma Purāṇa another Nāradiya. The Devībhāgavata and Bṛhadanuśāsana Upapurāṇa also mention a Nāradiya as an Upapurāṇa. An Upapurāṇa called 'Nāradokta' is referred to in the Garuḍa Purāṇa. The Pārāśara Upapurāṇa and the Varuṇopapurāṇa refer to an upapurāṇa by name Nāradiyaka. The Ekāmra Purāṇa and Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa name two upapurāṇas, the

1. Vā, 104; HD, V. 2. pp. 831-832; Vi, III. 6. 21-24; Mār, 134. 8-15; M, 33. 12-65; SK, VII. 2. 28-77; Bh, X. 1. 13. 4-18; Ag, 272, 1-23; Var. 112. 69-72; p, I. Ādi, 62. 2-7; Bhv, Brahmaparva, 1. 61-64; Brv. IV. 133. 11-21; N, I. 92. 21-28; K, I. 1. 13-15; L, I. 39; SK, VII. 2.5-7; P, VI. Uttara, 219. 25-27; Saura. IX. 6-12; Śiva, V. Umā-Saṁ, 44. 120-122 ab; Purāṇa, VII. 2. pp. 337-338.
2. P, I. 62. 2-7; II. 263. 81-85; Purāṇa, VII. 2. pp. 336, 341.
3. PV, pp. 90-93.
4. Bhv, III. Pratisarga, 3. 28. 10-14; Purāṇa, VII. 2. p.339.
5. K, I. 17-20; PV, p. 124.

Nāradiya and Bṛhannāradiya.¹ One of the two lists of the 18 Purāṇas given by Alberuni omits the Nārada, Agni, Liṅga, Bhāgavata, Padma and Brahmavaivarta Purāṇas and inserts instead the names of six Upapurāṇas, viz., the Ādi, Nṛsiṃha, Nanda, Āditya, Soma and Śāmba.² The Dānasāgara of Ballālasena (1119 A. D.) refers to the Nāradiya and states that as the three Purāṇas, viz., the Brahmāṇḍa Bhāgavata and Nāradiya lack in the Dānavidhi the verses from these Purāṇas are not quoted. Ballālasena refers to the Bṛhad-Liṅga Purāṇa as a Mahāpurāṇa and to the Liṅga Purāṇa as an Upapurāṇa. Further, during the period of Ballālasena we find that the Viṣṇu, Liṅga, Āgneya and Brahma Purāṇas are referred to as Mahāpurāṇas as well as Upapurāṇas. From this Baldeva Upādhyāya concludes that it may not be improper to think that a number of Upapurāṇas were abstracts of the Purāṇas and they were popular under the titles of the Purāṇas.³ Another list of 18 Purāṇas drawn by Kavīndrācārya (17th century A. D.) also omits the Nāradiya and includes the Upapurāṇa, Nandi instead. The same list inserts the Vāyu and Devībhāgavata in place of the Viṣṇubhāgavata and the Śiva Purāṇas. It also refers to the Viṣṇubhāgavata as one of the Upapurāṇas by name Śrībhāgavata Purāṇa.⁴

H. P. Shāstrī and P. V. Kane consider the Nāradiya Purāṇa as one of the three (together with Garuḍa and Agni) encyclopaedic Purāṇas. But according to Hazra the Nāradiya Purāṇa and other ten Purāṇas, viz. Vāmana, Liṅga, Skanda, Agni, Garuḍa, Varāha, Padma, Bhaviṣya, Brahma and Brahmavaivarta are minor Purāṇas.⁵ All this proves that there is no unanimity among scholars as to the text enumerating the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas.

A study of the Nārada Purāṇa versions (Venkaṭeśvara editions) shows that there was no definite view with regard to the title of the Purāṇa. The first (1827 Śaka=1905 A. D.) and the second (1845

1. Brv, q. in, Mitra Miśra's Vīramitrodaya, Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 14; P. Pātala, III. 94b-98; D. Bh, I. 3. 13-16; G. I. 223, 17-20; Pārāśara Upapurāṇa. q. in Vindhyā-māhātmya, 4; Varuṇopa-purāṇa I. Ekāmra Purāṇa, I. 20b-23; I. Bd. P. I. 25. 23-26; SUP, I. pp. 9-13.
2. Purāṇa, VII. 2. p. 339; PV. p. 120.
3. PV, pp. 121-124.
4. Purāṇa, VII. 2. pp. 339-340.
5. Purāṇa, VII. 2. pp. 343-44; Cf. also. PR.

Śaka = 1923 A. D) Veṅkaṭeśvara editions of the text bear the title Nārādīya Mahāpurāṇa. But the pages 1 to 54 of the first edition and the colophons of chapters 1 to 9 and 11 to 36 of the first part of the same edition name the Purāṇa as Bṛhannārādīya whereas the rest of the pages and colophons call it Nārādīya. But all the pages of the second edition call it Bṛhannārādīya Purāṇa. In both editions, the introduction, conclusion and the anukramaṇi show the title 'the Nārādīya Mahāpurāṇa' only. Due to this confusion some call it Bṛhannārādīya Purāṇa. In fact, the Bṛhannārādīya Purāṇa and the Nārādīya Purāṇa are two different works. The Bṛhannārādīya is not a Purāṇa, but only an Upapurāṇa as shown below.¹

The Nārada Mahāpurāṇa consists of two parts, Pūrva (former) and Uttara (latter). The first part has 125 chapters and the second 82. The Pūrvabhāga is further divided into four Pādas (sections), viz., Bhoga, Mokṣa, Kriyā and Caryā. Chapters 1-41 form the first pāda, chapters 42-62 the second, chapters 63-91 the third and chapters 92-125 the fourth. Like most of the Purāṇas, the Nārada Purāṇa also is supposed to have been recited by Sūta to the sages. But in this case, the speakers are different in different sections. They are Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatkumāra and Sanātana in the first part. In the second part Vasiṣṭha narrates the story to Māndhātṛ. Though there is some controversy about the extent of the Nārada Purāṇa, the text that has come down to us contains only 18550 (13,144 in the first part and 5,406 in the second) verses. The Nārādīya, which is referred to in the Matsya, Skanda and Agni Purāṇas does not seem to be the present text.² These Purāṇas claim that the Nārādīya was declared by Nārada with reference to Bṛhat Kalpa. But in the present text Nārada is only the listener. Besides, the work 'Bṛhadupākhyāna' appearing in colophons of the majority of chapters is not to be taken as a supporting factor for, it does not occur in the main part of the Purāṇa, viz., the chapters 1-41 of the first part of the Nārādīya Purāṇa.³

1. Ref. The Nārādīya and Bṛhannārādīya, *infra*, p. 214.
2. DCSM, pp. CXXXV 66; M. 53. 23; SK, VII., 1. 2. 43; Ag, 272. 8; PR, pp. 128-129.
3. PR, p. 130.

ii. The Bṛhannārada and the Nārada Purāṇa

Besides the Nāradiya Purāṇa, there is another text named Bṛhannāradiya of about 3600 verses arranged in 33 chapters. The Bṛhannāradiya does not fulfil the characteristics of a Mahāpurāṇa, but it is a sectarian work on Vaiṣṇavism fit to be called an Upapurāṇa.¹ Of course, the Bṛhannāradiya and the Nāradiya are closely interrelated. The title 'Bṛhannāradiya or Bṛhannārada' appearing in the body of the chapters and colophons of the Bṛhannāradiya text proves that it is not the original Purāṇa as the words 'Bṛhat', 'Vṛddha', etc., are indicators of a comparatively late work. The Nāradiya Purāṇa, according to the Matsya, Skanda and Agni Purāṇas, is recited by sage Nārada in relation to Bṛhat kalpa and contains 25000 verses. Even though the Bṛhannāradiya is narrated by Nārada, there is no mention of Bṛhat kalpa in it and it does not contain 25000 verses.² Further, the Ekāmra Purāṇa and Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa clearly distinguish the Bṛhannāradiya from the Nāradiya naming both of them side by side in their lists of the Upapurāṇas. The Smṛti works also refer to these two texts, viz., Bṛhannāradiya and Nāradiya, and quote verses from both under the respective titles. The Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Śiva Purāṇa (of Bengal) clearly names a Nāradiya and also another Nāradiya called Bṛhannārada separately.³

iii. The Literary and Linguistic Peculiarities of the Nārada Purāṇa

The style of the Nāradiya Purāṇa may be considered to be Vaidarbhī, as the composition is elegant and has no long compounds in the metrical portions, though sometimes there are small and the prose passages have long compounds.⁴ The diction, classical Sanskrit and the metres and the figures of speech used

1. PV, P. 548.

2. PR, pp. 127-128.

3. SUP, I. pp. 337, 341.

"nāradoktaṁ Purāṇaṁ tu nāradiyaṁ pracakṣate.
tasmādanyannāradiyaṁ bṛhannāradasaṁjñakaṁ".
Dacca University MS. No : 4233.
(of the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Śiva P.)
Ch. 23 (fol. 152 a)

4. Cf. "mādhuryavyaṅjakairvarṇai racanā lalitātmikā
avṛttiralpavṛttirvā Vaidarbhī rītirīṣyate" Sāhityadar-
paṇa, IX. 2.

show that this work belongs to the golden age of Sanskrit literature.

The metre which is mostly used is Anuṣṭubh. The Triṣṭup also is found on some occasions. Besides these we have some examples of Indravajrā, Upendravajrā and Upajāti as given below :

1. Indravajrā

“veṇuṃ dhamantaṃ svakare dadhānaṃ
savye daraṃ yaṣṭimudāraveṣaṃ
dakṣe tathaivepsitadānadakṣaṃ
dhyātvārcayennandajamindirāptyai” N, I. 80.85.

2. Upendravajrā

namaśśivāya tripurāntakāya
jagattrayeśāya digambarāya
namostu mukhyāya harāya bhūyo
namo jaghanyāya ca budhniyāya N, II. 73. 101.

3. Upajāti

satsaṅgadevārcanasatkathāsu
hitopadeśe nirato manuṣyaḥ
prayāti Viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padaṃ yad-
dehāvasānecyutatulyatejāḥ N, I. 1.63.

The matters like Bhujāṅgaprayāta,¹ Praharṣiṇī,² Vasantailakā,³ Mālinī,⁴ Pañcacāmara,⁵ pṛthvī,⁶ śārdūlavikriḍita⁷ and Sragdharā⁸ are also used.

The following is an example of a verse in Viṣama Vṛtta :

sohaṃ na jīvāmi kadācidīśa
dr̥ṣṭvā kṣitīśaṃ harisevane sthitaṃ
pravādamānaṃ paṭahaṃ sughoraṃ
pralopamānaṃ mama veśmamārgaṃ N, II. 5.16.

1. N, I. 80. 78,
2. N, I. 79. 164.
3. N, I. 23. 77.
4. N, II. 1. 26.
5. N, II. 73. 23.
6. N, I. 80.77.
7. N, I. 27.55.
8. N, I. 80. 150.

Further, we find some of the chapters closing with long verses, as in the Mahā-kāvyas. Such verses are found at the end of the following chapters.

N, I. 3, 10, 13, 30, 43, 45 and 125,

N, II. 1-22, 24-27, 29-35, 42 and 69.

Thus, out of 207 chapters, there are 42 chapters where the last verse is in a different metre. We get verses in different metres even in the middle of the chapters too, as in :

N, I. 38. 49; 80. 85; 81.55; 125. 1-5;

N, II. 23. 18-25; 34. 17-26; 37. 18-23; 44. 31-35; 73. 99; 80. 106-113, etc.

Besides, there are prose passages, and they are different in style from the prose passages in early Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣad literature. They are full of long, high flown compounds and have a verse at the end of a topic. Such prose passages are found in the following contexts:

N, I. 32. 1-37; 43. 89-95; 43. 106-124; 50. between the verses nos. 43 and 44, 203, and 205.

Regarding these prose passages "it is surmised that they may have been taken from some Dharmasūtra work".¹

With regard to Alaṅkāras (figures of speech), the Nāradya has employed the Śabdālaṅkāras, Anuprāsa, Yamaka, etc., in plenty in the characteristic Kāvya style.

In the Arthālaṅkāras, Upamā, as usual, plays a major part. Besides, the Upamāna (the object of comparison) is also sometimes striking². The other Alaṅkāras like Pratīpa³, Rūpaka⁴, Vyatireka⁵, Ullekha⁶, Utprekṣā⁷, Tulyayogitā⁸, Vinokti⁹, Kāraṇamālā¹⁰, Nidarśanā¹¹ and Arthāpatti¹² also beautify this work.

1. Purāṇa, V. no. 2. p. 295.
2. N, I. 5. 8 4. 18 etc.
3. N, II. 7. 37;
4. N, I. 1. 52.
5. N, I. 4. 37.
6. N, I. 49. 92-93.
7. N, I. 42. 49-50.
8. N, I. 50. 232-233.
9. N, I. 8. 18.
10. N, II. 24. 49-50.
11. N, II. 24. 3-4.
12. N, II. 24. 6.

Furthermore, there are verses which are close imitations of the verses contained in the Kumārasambhava and Kirātārjunīya. For example:

kopaṁ vibho saṁhara saṁhareti
yāvadgiraḥ khe marutāṁ babhūvuḥ
tāvatsa vahniḥ dvijavākyaṣṛṣṭo
bhasmāvaśeṣaṁ pramadāṁ cakāra, N, II. 35, 86.

Compare:

krodhaṁ vibho saṁhara saṁhareti
yāvadgiraḥ khe marutāṁ caranti
tāvatsa vahnirbhavanetrajānma
bhasmāvaśeṣaṁ madanaṁ cakāra, Kum, 3.72.

For:

aviveko hi sarveṣāmapadāṁ paramaṁ padam. N, I. 9. 40.

Compare:

sahasā vidadhīta na kriyā-
mavivekaḥ paramāpadāṁ padam. Kirāta, II. 30.¹

On the grammatical side there are not many lapses. There are some cases which may be printing mistakes or Ārṣa Prayogas.

All these lead us to conclude that the Nāradiya Purāṇa has the poetical quality common to the Kāvya. It may also be concluded that it was written in the golden age of classical Sanskrit literature.

iv. The Author of the Nārada Purāṇa

The nature and the character of the Nārada Purāṇa show that it was not written by a single author. It is appropriate to say that it is a compilation.

Nārada is one of Prajāpatīs, one of the seven great ṛṣis and related to the Kaṇva family.² In the Atharvaveda Nārada is a mythical seer. The Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā refers to him as a teacher.³ He appears in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa along with Parvata as the priest of Hariścandra, as teaching Somaka Sahadevya,

1. Cf. also HD, V. 2. p. 892; PV, p. 549.

2. CDHM, p. 218.

3. AV, V. 19.9; XII. 4, etc.; MS, I. 5.8;
V. Ind, I. p. 445.

and the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa as a pupil of Bṛhaspati. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad mentions him with Sanatkumāra.¹ He is a writer of Smṛti and his work, Nārada Smṛti is very popular. Another Nārada, also known as Brahmā and Devabrahmā, appear in the Mahābhārata. He is said to be the son of Brahmā from the daughter of Dakṣa.² Nārada is viewed as a scholar of Dharma ordained by Hari, a celibate, learned in Bhāgavata, Guru of Viśoka and author of Sātvata tantra. It is said that Nārada worshipped Nārāyaṇa in Bhāratavarṣa following the course of Sāṅkhya and Yoga. He is the expounder of Kriyāyoga.³ The Vāyu Purāṇa mentions Nārada as the son of Prajāpati.⁴ He is characterised as a Mauneya Gandharva presiding over the month of Mādhava according to the Vāyu, Viṣṇu Bhāgavata and Brahma Purāṇas.⁵ The Matsya Purāṇa mentions a Nārada as author of a work on architecture.⁶ Nārada Pañcarātra, a ritualistic work of the Vaiṣṇavas is a work composed by Nārada. The Nārada Bhakti Sūtra also is written by Nārada.⁷ Again Nārada is referred to as one of the 18 scholars or promulgators of Jyotiśśāstra in the Nārada Saṁhitā.⁸ The authorship of the Bṛhannāradiya, an Upapurāṇa, is also ascribed to Nārada.

v. The Date and the Chronology of the Nārada Purāṇa

As the present Nārada Purāṇa appears to be a compilation, and as it is called Saṁhitā⁹ in many places in the Purāṇa itself, all chapters of the Purāṇa cannot be assigned to the same period. There fore, it is necessary to study the text part by part, and to find out the respective dates of the part. The whole of the Bṛhannāradiya Purāṇa forms chapters 1-41 of the first part of the

1. A. Br. VII. 13; VII. 34; Sām. Br; III. 9. CU, VII. 1.1; V. Ind, I. p. 445.
2. CDHM, p. 219.
3. V. Ind, II. p. 225.
4. Vā, 69. 94; PI. II. p. 230.
5. Vā, 30. 86; Vi, II. 10.5; B. III. 7.4; Bh, XII. 2.34; Pl, II. p. 229.
6. M, 252. 2; PI, II. p. 230.
7. CDHM, p. 219.
8. NS, I. 1.
9. N, II. 82. 34, 35, 44; I. 62. 77, 79, cf. also PR, p. 133.

Nāradiya with slight variations in text and in the number of verses. These common chapters must have been borrowed by the Nāradiya.¹ This is proved by the changes appearing in the borrowed chapters of the Nāradiya. Also the word 'Bṛhad' used in Bṛhannāradiya (I. 36, 66) as a prefix to the title of the Purāṇa has been replaced by 'etad' and 'idaṁ' in the corresponding verses, (N, I. 1. 36, 64) of the Nāradiya². Moreover, in the first edition of the Nāradiya by Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, most of the chapters (1-9 and 11-36) of the first pāda are titled as 'Bṛhannāradiya Purāṇa' and the rest of the chapters by the title 'Nārada Purāṇa'. So the date of these borrowed chapters, viz., N. I. 1-41, should be the date of the Bṛhannāradiya.

As Govindānanda (1500 to 1540 A.D.) in Śuddhikriyākaumudī, Varṣakriyā-kaumudī and Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī,³ Raghunandan (1520 to 1575 A. D.) in Smṛti-tattva⁴ and Śūlapāṇi (1375 to 1440 A.D.) in Vratākāla-viveka⁵ refer to the Bṛhannāradiya, it can not belong to a period later than 1350 A.D. Again, the Bṛhannāradiya and the Nāradiya are referred to in the Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa (probably in the last half of the 13th century A. D.), the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Śiva Purāṇa (composed in Bengal not later than the 12th century A. D.) and the Ekāmra Purāṇa (written in Orissa some time during the 10th or 11th century A.D.). Hence the Bṛhannāradiya has to be dated not later than the middle of the 10th century A.D.⁶ The Bṛhannāradiya says that Viṣṇu Śakti effects creation, preservation and destruction and is called Lakṣmī, Umā, Durgā, Bhāratī, Bhadrakālī, etc.⁷ This Śakti is the Prakṛti and the Māyā which compels the creatures to undergo rebirth.⁸ This Śakti theory also shows a period posterior

1. PR, p. 130; HD, V. 2. p. 192.
2. 'Purāṇaṁ nāradopākhyā metadvedārthasmmītaṁ' N, I. 1, 36. tasmādidam nāradanāmadheyam puṇyam purāṇaṁ sṛṇuta dvijendrāḥ, N, I. 1.64; Cf. also PR, p. 130.
3. Brn, Chs, 7, 14, 25-27; PR, p. 128.
4. Brn, Chs, 7, 14, 22, 24; PR, p. 128.
5. Brn, Chs. 16; PR, p. 128; Cf. Also the Chronological Table p. 406, HD, IV. pp. XI-XII.
6. SUP, I pp. 340-341
7. Brn, 3, 6, 10, 16, 3, 13 ff: PR, pp. 128-129.
8. Brn, 3, 9, 15; PR. p. 128.

to the rise of the Āgamas. The reference in the Bṛhannāradiya to Ajāmila's attainment of salvation by worshipping Viṣṇu and to release of the great elephant from the clutches of the crocodile by praising Viṣṇu—Nārāyaṇa, seems to be from the Bhāgavata¹ Purāṇa VI. 1-2 and VII. 2-4 respectively (not earlier than the 9th century A. D.).² The Bṛhannāradiya imitates some of the expressions of Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya (6th century A. D.) and Bhaṭṭi's Bhaṭṭikāvya (6th or 7th century A. D.) and also copies a complete verse from Bhartṛhari's (died 651 A. D.) Nītiśataka and two other verses from the Vairāgya Śataka. Unlike other early works, the Bṛhannāradiya Purāṇa speaks of the greatness and the holiness of the Tulasī plant and its worship also. Hence the period of the Bṛhannāradiya can not be fixed up earlier than the 7th century A. D. The reference to Advaita and Māyā shows that the Bṛhannāradiya should not have been written much earlier than Śaṅkarācārya (788-820 A. D.). Therefore the period of the composition of the Bṛhannāradiya can be fixed up between 750 and 900 A.D.³ This period may be taken as the probable period of the Nāradiya chapters 1—41, i. e., the first pāda of the first part.

The period of chapters 42-62, which form the second pāda of the first part of the Nāradiya, appears to be different. Chapters 42-45, dealing with the philosophical matters, are mostly indebted to the chapters of the Śānti Parva of the Mahābhārata (Chs. 175-185, 187-188, 211-212). It has been shown by Bedekar that the 428 verses dealing with the philosophical matters of the Nāradiya are similar to 435 verses of the Mahābhārata. So, it is clear that the Nāradiya in this respect is indebted to the Mahābhārata and these chapters of the Nāradiya, which deal with philosophical matters, must belong to a period later than that of the Mahābhārata (4th century B. C. to 4th century A. D.).⁴

Chapters 50-57 of the second pāda, which deal with the six Vedāṅgas, belong to a different period. Chapter 50 on Śikṣā deals not only with the rules of pronunciation of Vedic and classical

1. Brn, 2, 44, 31.57 ff; PR, pp. 128-129; SUP. I. pp. 338, 339.
2. PV, p. 546, HD, V. 2. p. 899.
3. SUP, I. pp. 338 ff.
4. Purāṇa, V. pp. 208-304; Cf. also PV, p. 549.

Sanskrit, but also with the art of Music and other cognate sciences. This type of description can not be very old, nor can it be called modern; for old Śikṣās are generally related to the Vedic pronunciation only, but the rules regarding music are not very old¹. However, as we find the theory of music explained in detail in the Nāṭyaśāstra by the sage Bharata (1st, 4th or the 6th century A. D.), who is regarded as the founder of the present system of the Indian music², this chapter may be dated between the 7th and the 8th century A. D.

Chapter 51 describes Kalpa. It does not deal with the Dharma, Gṛhya and Śrauta Sūtras but with Nakṣatrakalpa, Vedakalpa, Saṁhitākalpa, Āṅgirasakalpa and Śāntikalpa. In ancient treatises these five Kalpas formed parts of the Atharva-veda, but Nārada states that they belong to all Śākhā of all the Vedas. This new idea appears to be promulgated by Kumārila in the early period of the 8th century A. D. Thus this chapter may be dated between 850 and 900 A. D.³

Chapter 52 deals with the Vyākaraṇa. This portion is an abstract of the system propounded by Pāṇini, but there is no scientific or systematic approach. Of course, Nārada has given some information regarding grammar by illustrating examples without stating any rule. This section might have been written after the revival of Pāṇini by Bhartṛhari (death 651 A. D.). So, the period of this chapter may be taken as the 8th century A. D.⁴

Chapter 53 deals with the Nirukta. This portion also may belong to the period of the 8th century A. D. as in the case of the Vyākaraṇa.

The three chapters 54-56 are devoted by Nārada to the description of Jyotiśśāstra with its three branches Gaṇita, Jātaka and Saṁhitā. Most of the Gaṇita portion are identical with the verses of the Sūryasiddhānta (6th century A. D.). Besides, we find three verses of the Nārada Purāṇa quoted in the Līlāvatī of Bhāskara II (12th century A. D.). The Jātaka portion is similar to that of

1. DCSM, p. XXXIII.
2. SIM, pp. 3-4.
3. DCSM, pp. XXXIII, Cxxxvii.
4. DCSM, XXXII.

the Bṛhajjātaka of Varāhamihira (6th century A. D.), and the Saṁhitā portion of the Nārada Purāṇa has several verses identical with those of the Nāradiya Saṁhitā (4th century A. D.). Thus, these chapters can be assigned to a period later than Varāhamihira and Sūryasiddhānta (6th century A. D.).¹

Chapter 57 deals with Chandas. Nārada gives here the description of Vedic and classical Sanskrit, and also the rules for Prākṛta chandas. A comparative study of the subject given in the Nāradiya and that found in the Agni Purāṇa shows similarity in approach. So this chapter may be placed in a period contemporaneous with the Agni Purāṇa (600-900 A. D.).²

Chapters 58-62, which deal with the story of Śuka, must be later than the 4th century A. D., because this portion also appears to be identical with that described in the Mahābhārata.³

Thus, Chapters N, I. 42-62 may be assigned to a period between 600 A.D. and 900 A.D.

The third pāda, comprising chapters 63-91 of the first part of the Nāradiya, deals with Pāśupata and Tāntrism. The Pāśupata of the Nāradiya Purāṇa is some what different from the Pāśupata dealt with in the Śaiva-darśana section of the Śarva-darśana-saṁgraha. Whereas Nārada considers Bindu as one of the pāśas, Śaiva-darśana does not recognise it. So, Nārada's Pāśupata represents probably an older phase of that school. Chapter 63 dealing with the Pāśupata may be long to the 8th century A.D.⁴ Chapters 64-91 deal with Tāntrika worship of various gods and other magical practices. Besides these, chapters 82-90 give prominence to goddess Rādhā who is regarded as the main deity. Other goddesses like Mahālakṣmī, Durgā, etc., are considered to be amśavatāras of goddess Rādhā. Goddess Rādhā's prominence is evident at least by the 9th or the 10th century A.D. The Bhāgavata (not earlier than 800 A. D.) states nothing more than

1. Cf. Jyotiśśāstra, supra. pp. 119 ff. It seems that the period of the Nārada Saṁhitā may be the period of the Nāradaśmṛti, i. e., 100-400 A. D.
2. Cf. Chandaśśāstra, supra. pp. 116 ff.
3. 'Story of Śuka in Mahābhārata and Purāṇas' by V. M. Bedekar, Purāṇa, VII. I. pp. 87 ff.
4. DCSM, pp. CXlii-CXliii.

the fact that there is one particular gopī (who is not named) who has gained favour of Kṛṣṇa. The Nāradiya not only mentions Rādhā but raises her to the highest pedestal as the main deity of whom other goddesses are but amśavatāras. For this development of the Rādhā cult at least a century must be allowed. Hence we may assign chapters 64-91 (which deal with Tāntrism) to a period not earlier than the 10th century A. D.

Regarding the 18 Purāṇas we have already seen that the division made in the Nāradiya Purāṇa does not agree with the division of several of the extant Purāṇas. Again, the words used for the several divisions of the Purāṇa texts, like Amśa, Aṅghri, Adhyāya Khaṇḍa, Dala, Parvan, Pāda, Bhāga Vibhāga, Pravibhāga, Samhitā and Skandha¹ are the self-explanatory proof establishing the fact that the Nāradiya description of the 18 Purāṇas is not based upon the current Purāṇa texts.

Now it is clear that there is not a single extant Purāṇa which is in entire agreement with the description given by the Nārada Purāṇa. This shows that each and every Purāṇa is in a confused state of affairs with some additions, omissions, interpolations and so on. Thus, it will not be a proper approach if we fix up the date of these Nāradiya chapters on the basis of minor points as found in the extant Purāṇas. On the strength of the evidence afforded by the Viṣṇu Purāṇa we may be justified in taking the whole portion of the Nāradiya Purāṇa describing the contents of the 18 Purāṇas as belonging to a period before 8th century A. D.²

The period of the chapters, i. e., Nāradiya, I. 110-124 dealing with vratas may be fixed as almost the same as assigned to the chapters on the Purāṇas. For most of the vratas described by Nārada are referred to in the other Purāṇas and other works.

Chapters 1-37 of the second part of the Nāradiya describe the Ekādaśī vrata along with a narration of the story of Rukmāṅgada. Hemādri (1260-1270 A. D.) mentions Māndhātṛ, Vasiṣṭha, Mohinī and Rukmāṅgada as narrators in the Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi. Devanabhaṭṭa (1200-1225 A. D.) mentions Mohinī

1. Purāṇa, VII. 2. pp. 345-346.

2. Cf. Purāṇas, *Supra*.

and Vasiṣṭha, as narrators in the Smṛti Candrikā¹. Furthermore, Aparārka (1100-1130 A. D.) also has quoted verses about fast on Ekādaśī.² This indicates that the Nāradiya should be earlier than 1,100 A. D.

Chapter 38-82 of the second part of the Nāradiya deal with the glories of Gaṅgā and other holy places. In the Nāradiya, II. 52-61 we find many verses common with 28 and 45 ff; while the Nāradiya, I. 125. 26 mentions that the Nāradiya consists of four pādas, Nāradiya, II. 82.41 says that it has five pādas. All these points show the comparatively late date of the chapters of the Nārada Purāṇa, II. 38-82. But when we find that Raghunandana (1520 to 1575 A. D) and Vācaspati-miśra (1425 to 1490 A. D) quote verses from chapters 38-39, it shows that the topic on Gaṅgā dealt with in these chapters must belong to a period prior to Vācaspatimiśra.

As a result of the above analysis the period of the Nāradiya is :

Nāradiya, I.	1-42	...	C-750-900 A. D.
Nāradiya, I.	42-49	...	Later than the 4th century A. D.
Nāradiya, I.	50-57	...	C-600-900 A. D.
Nāradiya, I.	58-62	...	Later than the 4th century A. D.
Nāradiya, I.	63	...	Earlier than the 8th or 9th century A. D.
Nāradiya, I.	64-91	...	Not earlier than the 10th century A. D.
Nāradiya, I.	92-109	...	Before C. 800 A. D.
Nāradiya, I.	110-125	...	Same as above.
Nāradiya, II.	1-37	...	Earlier than 1,100 A. D.
Nāradiya, II.	38-82	...	Comparatively late. At least N, II. 38-43 are earlier than Vācaspatimiśra. ³

Scholars like H. H. Wilson, R. N. Mehta, Haraprasada Shastri, Durgasankar Kevalram Shastri, R. C. Hazra, P. V. Kane

1. PR, pp. 131-132.
2. HD, V, 2 pp. 892-893.
3. Cf. also PR, pp. 131-132.

and Baldeva Upādhyāya, after making a detailed study, have reached conclusions which differ in fixing the period of the Nārada Purāṇa:

H. H. Wilson	...	16th or 17th century A. D.
R. N. Mehta	...	17th century A. D. (that part of the Nārada Purāṇa in which the present Kumārikākhaṇḍa was written).
H. P. Shastri	...	700-800 A. D.
Durgasankar	}	Not before the 9th century and not later than the 12th century A. D.
Kevalram Shastri		
R. C. Hazra	...	875-1000 A. D.
Baldeva Upadhyaya	...	700-900 A. D.
P. V. Kane	...	700-1000 A. D.

Thus my conclusion regarding the period of the Nārada Purāṇa differs materially from that of H. H. Wilson and R. N. Mehta, and agrees generally with that of Haraprasada Shastri, Durgasankar Kevalram Shastri, R. C. Hazra and Baldeva Upadhyaya—especially with that of Kane.

According to H. H. Wilson the date of the Nāradiya is subsequent to the date of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. He adds: "it is probably considerably later, for it affords, evidence that it was written after India was in hands of Muhammadans." In the concluding passage, it says: "Let not this Purāṇa be repeated in the presence of the 'killers of cows' and condemners of the Gods. It is possibly a compilation of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. We cannot accept H. H. Wilson's opinion about our text, because there is no such reference to the 'killers of cow' therein. Further, Wilson himself says that he has not secured a copy of the Nāradiya which contains more than 3,500 verses.¹ From this statement it is evident that he never made such a remark with regard to our text, whose extent is far more than 3500 verses.

In connection with the period of the Nārada Purāṇa R. N. Mehta mentions that "This study thus indicating that the Kumārikākhaṇḍa could be ascribed to about 17th century A. D. sheds an indirect light on the Nāradiya Mahāpurāṇa which mentions the subject matter of the Skanda Purāṇa as noted in the Prastāvanā

1. Preface on Viṣṇu Purāṇa, pp. XXXI-XXXII.

of the latter work. On page 8 of the Venkatesvara Press edition of 1910 A. D. in stanzas 10 to 17 the summary of Kumārikā khaṇḍa is given. It indicates almost all the subject matter as seen in the present Kumārika khaṇḍa. Thus it is clear that, that part of the Nāradiya Mahāpurāṇa is also not earlier than the 17th century A. D. in which the present Kumārikākhaṇḍa was written.”¹

But the detailed analysis of all the 18 Purāṇas proves that there is not a single Purāṇa in existence which is in full agreement with the description in the Nārada Purāṇa. That is each and every Purāṇa is thrown into disorder by the additions, omissions, interpolations and so on. The division and the description made in the Nāradiya Purāṇa do not agree with the division and the description of several of the existing Purāṇas. Again, the terms used for indicating the several divisions of the Purāṇa texts themselves prove that the Nāradiya description of the 18 Purāṇas is not at all based on the existing Purāṇa texts.

Thus, it is clear that R. N. Mehta's opinion on the period of the Nārada Purāṇa can not be accepted as final and conclusive.²

Haraprasada Shastri mentions that Nārada must have flourished after Bhartṛhari (who died in 651 A. D.) and Varāhamihira (5th century A. D.). He adds that “The attribution of five kalpas of Atharva-Veda to all the Śākhās of all the Vedas is I think to be attributed to the Vedic revival initiated at the end of the seventh century by Kumārila and his followers.

The Nārada Purāṇa must have been written after the Vedic revival. I should, therefore, attribute the composition of the Nārada Purāṇa to the 8th century A. D. between 700 to 800 A. D. i. e. between the time of Kumārila and Śaṅkara.”

While fixing the date, Haraprasada Shastri does not seem to have taken into consideration the contents of the Nārada Purāṇa

1. Kumārikā khaṇḍa—A study by R. N. Mehta, Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda, Vol. XIV. No. 1 April 1965, p. 45.
2. Cf. The Date and the Chronology of the Nārada supra.
2. DCSM, Preface, p. CXXXVIII.

I. 64-91, II. 1-37 and II. 38-82 which give details about the Tantras of different sects and the full developed stage of the Rādhā cult, glories of Ekādaśī vrata with a narration of Rukmāṅgada's story and the greatness of the holy places. If these are considered, there is no evidence to advance the date of the Nārada Purāṇa to such an early period as 800 A. D.

Durgasankar Kevalram Shastri, on the other hand, has attempted to establish that the Nārada Purāṇa must have been written sometime in a period not before the 9th century and not later than the 12th century A. D. His contention is based on the description of the philosophical matters, the Rādhā cult, the contents of the 18 Purāṇas, etc.¹

While fixing the date, Durgasankar Kevalram Shastri does not seem to have considered certain aspects like the description of Vedāṅgas and the literary features which prove that the Nārada Purāṇa could not have been compiled during the period mentioned by him, but much earlier. Further, his statement that Aparārka did not quote from the Nāradiya is not correct, as Aparārka has, in fact, quoted two verses from the Nāradiya relating to Ekādaśī vrata.

Hazra has fixed the period of the Nārada Purāṇa as not later than the end of the 10th century A. D. He emphasises that "The above date is not the date of all sections of the Nāradiya". He fixes the dates of the Nāradiya as follows:

Nāradiya, I. 1-41	...	C. 875-1000 A. D.
Nāradiya, I. 42-125	...	Comparatively late.
Nāradiya, II. 1-37	...	C. 875-1000 A. D.
Nāradiya, II. 38-82	...	Comparatively late. At least Nāradiya, II. 38-43 are earlier than Vācaspatimiśra'. ²

He also gives a chronological table of the Nārada Purāṇa chapters on Hindu rites and customs and reaches the same conclusion.³

1. Purāṇa Vivecan, pp. 231-233.

2. PR, pp. 131-132.

3. PR, pp. 184-185.

Hazra, while fixing the date of the Nārada Purāṇa, has not considered the contents of Nārada Purāṇa, I. 44-62 which deal with philosophy, the six Vedāṅgas and Śuka's story. Again the period of the Bṛhannārādīya, which forms chapters 1-41 of the first pāda of the first part of the Nārādīya, was fixed between 850 and 950 A.D. This was the basis on which he had fixed the date of the Nārada Purāṇa. But when he himself has re-fixed the date of the Bṛhannārādīya between 750 and 900 A.D.¹ it is evident that his previous fixation of the date of the Nārada Purāṇa should be advanced to a period earlier than 875 A.D. If these points are taken into consideration the limit of the Nārada Purāṇa cannot go to such a late period as 875 A.D.

P.V. Kane, on the basis of the Nārādīya description of the praise of Viṣṇu and Bhakti, Geography of India, story of Sagara, Bhagiratha and Gaṅgā-māhātmya, a few vratas, Varṇāśramadharma, pātakas, sadācāra and śrāddha, a verse similar to that of the Kirātārjunīya, the strong view against Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavāgama and Pañcarātra procedure, greatness of Ekādaśī vrata, and quoting of two verses by Aparārka about fast on Ekādaśī says that "The above circumstances lead to the conclusion that the present Nārādīya was compiled between 700 and 1000 A.D."²

Noticing a verse in the Nārādīya (I. 9. 50) as an imitation of a verse contained in the Kirātārjunīya (II. 30) (6th century A.D.) and also the strong view against Buddhism similar to that prevalent in the 7th century A.D., Baldeva Upādhyāya states his opinion that the date of the Nārada Purāṇa should be fixed between 700 and 900 A.D.³

Baldeva Upādhyāya has not given much importance to the description of the Rādhā cult and that of the holy places. If these are taken into consideration, the upper limit of the Nārada Purāṇa will have to be shifted to a later period from the 900 A.D.

The description of religious and philosophical matters, the six Vedāṅgas, Varṇāśramadharma, Pātakas, Sadācāra, vrata, the stories narrated, the contents of the 18 Purāṇas, the holy places,

1. PR, p. 129; SUR, I. p. 344.

2. HD, V. 2. pp. 892-893.

3. PV, pp. 549-550.

the literary and the linguistic peculiarities, etc., go to prove conclusively that the existing Nārada Purāṇa must have been compiled some time between 700 and 1000 A.D. This date is supported by Kane too.

vi. The Special Features of the Nārada Purāṇa

As already shown, the Nāradiya Purāṇa along with the Garuḍa and Agni Purāṇas belongs to the class of encyclopaedic Purāṇas.

In religion, Nārada's glorification of Lord Viṣṇu shows that he was a propagator of Vaiṣṇavism. But he gives equal importance to Lord Śiva and other gods also. Among the goddesses, Mahālakṣmī, Durgā, Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī are given as partial incarnations of Rādhā. Nārada seems to believe in the equality of Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva. According to Nārada, Mahāviṣṇu is the primordial Being from whom Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva emerge. Therefore they require equal veneration. Nārada's approach to Tāntrism also deserves special credit. In short Nārada's treatment of Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Śaktism and Tāntrism is an asset to the Purāṇic literature.¹

In philosophy, Nārada had dealt with the six systems of Indian Philosophy equally well. Besides he describes the knowledge about the individual soul and its union with the Supreme Soul, Adhyātma tattva and Mokṣa-dharma. With this, Nārada's description of Pāśupata, which is an older phase of that school gives Nāradiya Purāṇa an important place among Śaivite works. His treatment on Bhakti is an example of the popularity of "Nārada-Bhakti."²

In the Vedāṅgas, Nārada describes Śikṣā along with the rules of pronunciation of Vedic and classical Sanskrit and also the rules regarding music. In Kalpa it deals with the Nakṣatra-kalpa, Vedakalpa, Saṁhitākalpa Āṅgirasakalpa and Śāntikalpa. In Vyākaraṇa, its approach is not found to be very systematic as it gives examples without stating the rules on the topics. Of course, it is a fact that it has approached this topic in an easily

1. Cf. Religion supra.

2. Cf. Philosophy, supra. DCSM, pp. C Xlii-CXliii.

understandable manner giving a general idea of Vyākaraṇa. In Nirukta, as in the case of Vyākaraṇa, it gives only a brief description. He does not illustrate the rules but enumerates some examples of the same and gives a rough idea regarding Nirukta. In Chandas, it prescribes rules for Sanskrit as also Prākṛta. Vedic and classical metres are dealt with by an elaborate method of Prastāra. In Jyotiṣa, Nārada breaks new ground in the Purāṇic literature by giving an account of Gaṇita, Jātaka and Saṁhitā spread over three chapters. He has explained all the essentials connected with Jyotiṣa in detail.¹

In Purāṇas, Nārada has described the contents of all the 18 Mahāpurāṇas. As Baldeva Upādhyāya states, this topic is very important in view of the historical background of the Purāṇas. The Nāradiya description of the Purāṇas helps us to find out the interpolations of the later period.²

Nārada's description of many vratas, especially Ekādaśī vrata and the illustration of the same with the story of Rukmāṅgada, is very important. According to Durgasankar Kavalram Shastri, the Nāradiya adhyāyas are almost the last word on the topic of vratas.³

Regarding tīrthas, Nārada has given a detailed description of holy places like the holy Gaṅgā, Kāśī, Puruṣottama etc. Its description of holy places is a valuable record.⁴

1. Cf. The Vedāṅgas, supra.

1. Cf. Purāṇas, Supra. PV, p. 150.

2. Cf. Vratas, Infra. Purāṇa Vivecan, p. 232.

4. Cf. Tīrthas, infra.

PART II

**The Additional List of Abbreviations Used in the Lists
of i. Vratas, and ii. Tirthas**

i

AK.	Ahalyākāmadhenu.
GK.	Gadādhara-paddhati (Kālasāra portion).
HVr.	Hemādri's Vratākhaṇḍa Vols. I and II.
KKV.	Vratākhaṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataru.
KN.	Kālanirṇaya of Mādhava.
KR.	Kṛtyaratnākara.
KV.	Kālaviveka of Jīmūtāvāhana.
NA.	Nirṇayāmṛta.
NSi.	Nirṇayasindhu.
PCi.	Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇī.
SM.	Samayamayūkha.
SMK.	Smṛtikaustubha (on Tithi and Sainvatsara).
SP.	Samaya Prakāśa, part of Vīramitrodaya.
VKD.	Varṣakṛtya-dīpaka.
VKK.	Varṣakriyā-kaumudī.
VR.	Vratarāja.

ii

Cy.	City.
D.	Deśa.
F.	Forest.
H.	Hermitage.
I.	Island.
Lk.	Lake.
Mt.	Mountain.
Pl.	Place.
R.	River.
Ti	Tīrtha.

CHAPTER I

Vratas

Many scholars like Max Müller, Whitney and Apte have tried to derive and explain the sense of the word 'vrata'. Kane appropriately defines vratas as the "sacred vows and rules of conduct to be observed by a person as a member of community or as an individual".¹

We have references to vrata in the Ṛgveda.² The vrata is mentioned in connection with almost all the prominent gods. In all the Samhitās other than the Ṛgveda, in the Brāhmaṇas, Gṛhya Sūtras, Dharmaśāstras and the Upaniṣads, the restriction on food and behaviour is of common occurrence.³ In the Smṛtis Prāyaścittas (expiations) also are included in vratas.⁴ The religious undertaking or vows with certain restrictions on food or behaviour were considered as vrata in the Mahābhārata. At least from the Christian era downwards, vrata definitely meant a religious undertaking or a vow observed on a certain tithi (lunar day), week day, month or any period for securing some desired object by the worship of a deity, usually accompanied by restrictions on food and behaviour.⁵

According to Devala, all castes are entitled to perform vratas. Women also were allowed to perform vratas with the consent of their father, husband or son.⁶ The Mahābhārata allows

1. HD, V. 1. p. 21.
2. RV, II. 38.9; III. 56.1; VIII. 42.1; HD, V. 1. pp. 8-9.
3. Nirukta, II. 14. Āś. Gr. III. 10.5-7; Pār. Gr. II. 8. etc.; HD, V. 1 pp. 23, 26-27.
4. Manu, XI. 117, 170, 176, 181; Yājñ. III. 251, 252, etc.; HD, V. 1. p. 27.
5. Mbh (B), Vana, 296.3=Mbh, III. 280.3; Mbh (B), Udyoga, 39. 71-72, etc.; =Mbh, V. 39. 56-57; HD, V. 1. pp. 27-28.
6. q. by HVṛ, I. p. 326 Vratārka folio 4 a; Smṛticandrikā II. p. 291; HD, V. 1. pp. 51-52.

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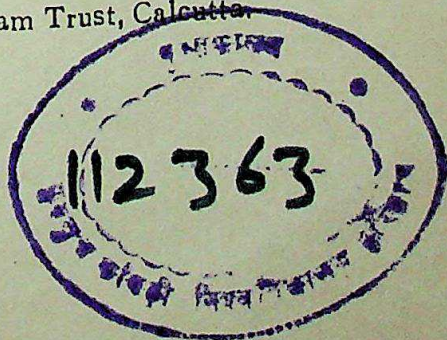
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